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CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF INDIA



*SI-YU-KI*

Buddhist Records  
of  
The Western World

# CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF INDIA

*Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang*

by  
SAMUEL BEAL

*Volume Three*

15709



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Ref 934.0197  
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SUSIL GUPTA ( INDIA ) LIMITED

35 CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA-12

New edition, 1958

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PUBLISHED BY S. GUPTA FOR SUSIL GUPTA (INDIA) LTD.,  
35, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA 12, AND  
PRINTED BY K. C. PAL AT THE NABAJIBAN PRESS,  
66, GREY STREET, CALCUTTA 6.

From: Laidlaw Brothers, N. De. Co. on 3/7/18. Recd. R. 6/1/18. 1898.

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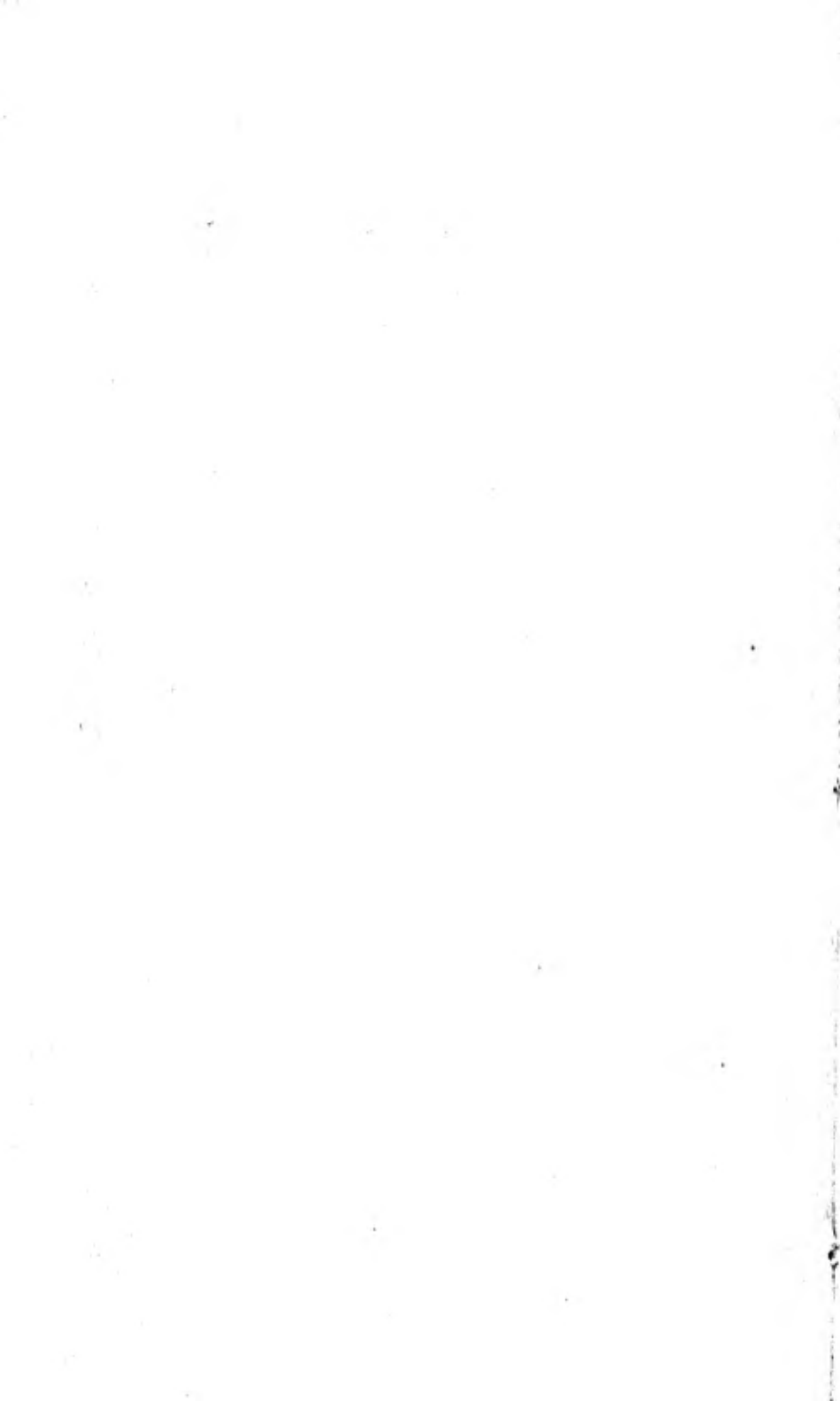
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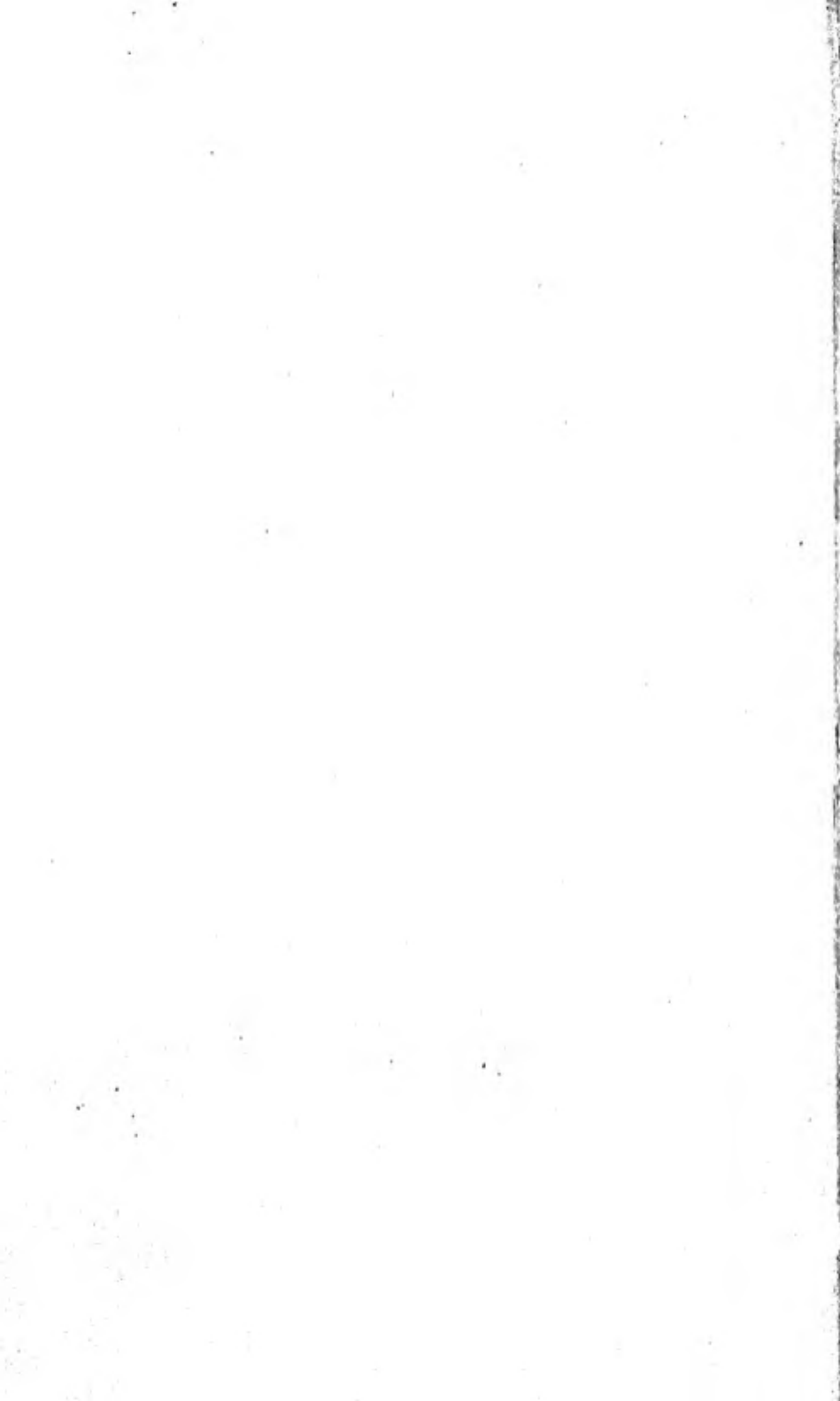


## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume embodies Chapters VI to IX of the original work *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, and contains accounts of ten countries which the illustrious Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang visited in the course of his sojourn in India during the early centuries of our era.

The two full Chapters, VIII and IX, are devoted to Magadha, a kingdom which had its capital at Rajagaha (Rajagriha) (afterwards at Pataliputra), reigned over at first by king Bimbisara and afterwards by his son Ajatasattu (Ajatasatru).

The concluding portion of the work will be published in the fourth volume.



## BOOK VI

*Contains an account of four countries, viz., (1) Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti :  
(2) Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu ; (3) Lan-mo ; (4) Ku-shi-na-k'ie-lo.*

### SHI-LO-FU-SHI-TI [SRAVASTI]

The kingdom of Sravasti (Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti)<sup>1</sup> is about 6000 li in circuit. The chief town is desert and ruined. There is no record as to its exact limits (area). The ruins of the walls encompassing the royal precincts<sup>2</sup> give a circuit of about 20 li. Though mostly in ruins, still there are a few inhabitants. Cereals grow in great abundance ; the climate is soft and agreeable, the manners of the people are honest and pure. They apply themselves to learning, and love religion (*merit*). There are several hundreds of *sangharamas*, mostly in ruin, with very few religious followers, who study the books of the Sammatiya (Ching-liang-pu) school. There are 100 Deva temples with very many heretics. When Tathagata was in the world, this was the capital of the country governed by Prasenajita-rajā (Po-lo-si-ma-chi-to-wang).<sup>3</sup>

Within the old precincts of the royal city are some ancient

<sup>1</sup> The town of Sravasti, also called Dharmaputtana (*Trikandasesha*, ii. 1, 13), in Uttara (Northern) Kosala, has been identified by Cunningham with a great ruined city on the south bank of the Rapti called Sahet Mahet, about 58 miles north of Ayodhya. As Hiuen Tsiang gives the bearing north-east, and the distance about 500 li, he evidently did not travel by the shortest route. Fa-hian (chap. xx), on the contrary, gives the distance eight *yojanas*, and the bearing (corrected) due north, both of which are correct. For a full account of Sahet Mahet see Cunningham, *Arch. Survey of Ind.*, vol. i. p. 331 ff.; see also *J. R. As. S.*, vol. v. pp. 122 ff. It figures also in Brahmanical literature, in which it is said to have been founded by Sravasta, the son of Srava and grandson of Yuvanasha. *Harivamsa*, 670; *Vishn Pur.* vol. iii. p. 263; Hall's *Vasavadata*, Int. p. 53; *Mahabhar.*, iii. 12518; Panini, iv. 2, 97; *Bhagav. Pur.*, ix. 6, 21. With respect, however, to the date of Vikramaditya of Sravasti, Cunningham seems to be misled by the statement of Hiuen Tsiang (*ante*) that he lived in the middle of the thousand years after Buddha, as though this meant 500 A.B., whereas it means, as stated before, in the middle of the thousand years which succeeded the 500 years after Buddha, in the middle of the "period of images," in fact. See also Bur-nouf, *Introd.*, pp. 20 f., 150, 209, 280; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. iii. pp. 200 f.; Vassilief, pp. 38, 75, 188, 218.

<sup>2</sup> Julien translates here and elsewhere *kung shing* by *palace*, but it should be "the royal precincts," or the portion of the city in which the royal palace stood, and which was defended by a surrounding wall. Cunningham is right therefore in his remarks on this point, p. 332, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Prasenajit :—In the *Asoka Avadana* the following genealogy is given :—

1. Bimbisara (cir. B.C. 540-512); 2. Ajatasatru, his son, 512 ;



foundations ; these are the remains of the palace of King Shing-kwan (Prasenajita).

From this not far to the east is a ruinous foundation, above which is built a small *stupa* ; these ruins represent the Great Hall of the Law,<sup>4</sup> which King Prasenajita built for Buddha.

By the side of this hall, not far from it, above the ruins a *stupa* is built. This is where stood the *vihara* which King Prasenajita built for Prajapati<sup>5</sup> Bhikshuni, the maternal aunt of Buddha.

Still east of this is a *stupa* to record the site of the house of Sudatta<sup>6</sup> (Shen-shi).

By the side of the house of Sudatta is a great *stupa*. This is the place where the Angulimalya (Yang-kiu-li-mo-lo) gave up his heresy. The Angulimalyas<sup>7</sup> are the unlucky caste (*the criminals*) of Sravasti. They kill everything that lives, and maddening themselves, they murder men in the towns and country, and make chaplets for the head of their fingers. The man in question wished to kill his mother to complete the number of fingers, when the Lord of the World (Buddha), moved by pity, went to him to convert him. Beholding the Lord from far, the Angulimalya rejoicing said, "Now I shall be born in heaven ; our former teacher declared that whoever injures a Buddha or kills his mother, ought to be born in the Brahma heaven."

3. Udayibhadra, his son, 480 ; 4. Munda, his son, 46 ; 5. Kakavarnin, his son, 456 ; 6. Sahalin, his son. 7. Tulakuchi, his son ; 8. Mahamandala, his son, cir. 375 ; 9. Prasenajit, his son ; 10. Nanda, his son ; 11. Bindusara, his son, 295 ; 12. Susima, his son.

Little dependence, however, can be placed on this genealogy, but it may be compared with the Singhalese and Brahmanical lists, *J. As. S. Ben.*, vol. vi. p. 714 ; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 286 ; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. pp. 859, xxxviii, vol. ii. pp. 71, 222, 1207 ; Burnouf, *Intr.*, pp. 128, 320 ; Burgess, *Archæol. Surv. W. India, Rep.*, vol. v. p. 43, and *Cave Temples*, pp. 24 f. On Prasenajit, see Koppen, *Die Rel. d. Bud.*, vol. i. pp. 98, 113, 495, 507 ; *Vishn. Pur.*, vol. iv. p. 171 ; *Mahabhar.*, ii. 332, iii. 11072, xii. 5924 ; *Hariv.*, 709 f., 2054.

<sup>4</sup> The Saddharma Mahasala.

<sup>5</sup> Prajapati, formerly written, as a note tells us, *Pajapati*, with the meaning "lord of creatures" ; it may be observed here that Hiuen Tsiang is the first to introduce the *Sanskrit* forms of proper names into the Chinese translations. Before him the *Prakrit*, or provincial, forms are used ; for example, in Fa-hian, instead of Po-lo-si-na-chi-to for Prasenajita, we have Po-sz-nih, corresponding with Pasenat or Pasenadi ; instead of Sravasti, we have She-wei for Sewet, &c. For further instances see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> Sudatta, formerly written Su-ta, the same as Anathapindada, "the friend of the orphan and destitute." For an account of his conversion and subsequent career, see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> The Angulimalyas were a sect founded by a converted brigand, who wore round his neck a string of fingers.

Addressing his mother, he said, "Old woman ! I will leave you for a time till I have killed that great Shaman." Then taking a knife, he went to attack the Lord. On this Tathagata stepped slowly as he went, whilst the Angulimalya rushed at him without slackening his pace.

The Lord of the World addressing him said, "Why do you persevere in your evil purpose and give up the better feelings of your nature and foster the source of evil ?" The Angulimalya, hearing these words, understood the wickedness of his conduct, and on that paid reverence to Buddha, and sought permission to enter the law (*i.e., the religious profession of Buddha*), and having persevered with diligence in his religious progress, he obtained the fruit of an Arhat.

To the south of the city 5 or 6 li is the Jetavana.<sup>8</sup> This is where Anathapindada (Ki-ku-to) (*otherwise called*) Sudatta, the chief minister of Prasenajita-*raja*, built for Buddha a *vihara*. There was a *sangharama* here formerly, but now all is in ruins (*desert*).

On the left and right of the eastern gate has been built a pillar about 70 feet high ; on the left-hand pillar is engraved on the base a wheel ;<sup>9</sup> on the right-hand pillar the figure of an ox is on the top. Both columns were erected by Asoka-*raja*. The residences (*of the priests*) are wholly destroyed ; the foundations only remain, with the exception of one solitary brick building, which stands alone in the midst of the ruins, and contains an image of Buddha.

Formerly, when Tathagata ascended into the Trayastrimsas heaven to preach for the benefit of his mother, Prasenajita-*raja*, having heard that the king Udayana had caused a sandal-wood figure of Buddha to be carved, also caused this image to be made.

The nobleman Sudatta was a man of "humanity" and talent. He had amassed great wealth, and was liberal in its distribution. He succoured the needy and destitute, and had compassion on the orphan and helped the aged. During his lifetime they called him Anathapindada (Ki-ku-to)—*friend of the orphan* on account

<sup>8</sup> Shi-to-lin, the garden of Jeta, the prince royal. For the sale of this garden to Sudatta (Shen-shi) and the circumstances attending it, see *Fo-sho-hing tsan-king*. For a representation of the scene of the history, see *Bharhut Stupa*, pl. lvi.

<sup>9</sup> Julien's translation of this passage is very confusing. He says, "On the top of the left-hand pillar is a dome (*coupole*) ; on the pinnacle (*faite*) of the right-hand pillar is sculptured the body of an elephant." But, in fact, the text says, "On the face (pedestal, *twan*) of the left-hand pillar is the mark (*figure*) of a wheel (the symbol of *dharma*) ; on the top of the right-hand pillar is the form of an ox. This is in agreement with Fa-hian's account. The only doubt is whether *twan* may not mean "the top," in that case the wheel would be on the top of the left-hand pillar, as Fa-hian says (chap. xx).

of his virtue. He, hearing of the religious merit of Buddha, conceived a deep reverence for him, and vowed to build a *vihara* for him. He therefore asked Buddha to condescend to come to receive it. The Lord of the World commanded Sariputra (She-li-tsue) to accompany him and aid by his counsel. Considering the garden of Jeta (Shi-to-yuen), the prince, to be a proper site on account of its pleasant and upland position, they agreed to go to the prince to make known the circumstances of the case. The prince in a jeering way said, "If you can cover the ground with gold (*pieces*) I will sell it (*you can buy it*)."

Sudatta, hearing it, was rejoiced. He immediately opened his treasures, with a view to comply with the agreement, and cover the ground. There was yet a little space not filled.<sup>10</sup> The prince asked him to desist, but he said, "The field of Buddha is true;<sup>11</sup> I must plant good seed in it." Then on the vacant spot of ground<sup>12</sup> he raised a *vihara*.

The Lord of the World forthwith addressed Ananda and said, "The ground of the garden is what Sudatta has bought; the trees are given by Jeta. Both of them, similarly minded, have acquired the utmost merit. From this time forth let the place be called the grove of Jeta (Shi-to) and the garden of Anathapindada (Ki-ku-to).

To the north-east of the garden of Anathapindada (Ki-ku-to) is a *stupa*. This is the place where Tathagata washed with water the sick Bhikshu. Formerly, when Buddha was in the world, there was a sick Bhikshu (Pi-tsu), who, cherishing his sorrow, lived apart by himself in a solitary place. The Lord of the World seeing him, inquired, "What is your affliction, living thus by yourself?" He answered, "My natural disposition being a careless one and an idle one, I had no patience to look on a man sick (*to attend on the sick*),<sup>13</sup> and now when I am entangled in sickness there is nobody to look on me (*attend to me*)."

Tathagata, moved with pity thereat, addressed him and said,

<sup>10</sup> This incident of the broken promise is referred to by Asvaghosha, *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, and seems to be the subject of the Bharhut sculpture, pl. xlv. fig. 9, where "the little space not filled" is represented, and the broken promise denoted by the broken surface of the ground. It would perhaps be too bold to suggest *chitu padasi-la* for the inscription, where *padasi* would be the aorist form of *prada*, and the meaning would be "taken or caught (*la*) in breaking what he gave." The tree certainly favours this identification; and the august figure by the side of Jeta would denote the "Lord of the World," or perhaps "the magistrate" or Sariputra.

<sup>11</sup> *I.e.*, the system of Buddha is founded on *truth*; alluding to the wish of Jeta to annul the agreement.

<sup>12</sup> *I.e.*, where there were no trees.

<sup>13</sup> This differs from Julien's version; he makes the fault of the Bhikshu to consist in neglecting his own sickness; but it seems rather to have been his former indifference to the sickness of others. For an incident somewhat like that in the text, see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvii. p. 241.

"My son ! I will look on you !" and then touching him, as he bent down, with his hand, lo ! the sickness was immediately healed ; then leading him forth to the outside of the door, he spread a fresh mat for him and himself, washed his body and changed his clothes for new ones.

Then Buddha addressed the Bhikshu, "From this time be diligent and exert yourself." Hearing this, he repented of his idleness, was moved by gratitude, and filled with joy, he followed him.

To the north-west of the garden of Anathapindada is a little *stupa*. This is the place where Mudgalaputra (Mo-te-kia-lo-tseu) vainly exerted his spiritual power in order to lift the girdle (*sash*) of Sariputra (She-li-tseu). Formerly, when Buddha was residing near the lake Wu-jeh-no,<sup>14</sup> in the midst of an assembly of men and Devas, only Sariputra (She-li-tseu) was absent (*had not time to join the assembly*). Then Buddha summoned Mudgalaputra, and bade him go and command him to attend. Mudgalaputra accordingly went.

Sariputra was at the time engaged in repairing his religious vestments. Mudgalaputra addressing him said, "The Lord, who is now dwelling beside the Anavatapta lake, has ordered me to summon you."

Sariputra said, "Wait a minute, till I have finished repairing my garment, and then I will go with you." Mudgalaputra said, "If you do not come quickly, I will exert my spiritual power, and carry both you and your house to the great assembly."

Then Sariputra, loosing his sash, threw it on the ground and said, "If you can lift this sash, then perhaps my body will move (*or, then I will start*)." Mudgalaputra exerted all his spiritual power to raise the sash, yet it moved not. Then the earth trembled in consequence. On returning by his spiritual power of locomotion to the place where Buddha was, he found Sariputra already arrived and sitting in the assembly. Mudgalaputra sighing said, "Now then I have learned that the power of working miracles is not equal to the power of wisdom."<sup>15</sup>

Not far from the *stupa* just named is a well. Tathagata, when in the world, drew from this well for his personal use. By the side of it is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja* ; in it are some *sariras*<sup>16</sup> of Tathagata ; here also are spots where there are traces of walking to and fro and preaching the law. To commemorate both these circumstances, (*the king*) erected a pillar and built the *stupa*. A mysterious sense of awe surrounds

<sup>14</sup> No feverish affliction, *i.e.*, cool ; *antavatapta*. See *ante*, vol. i. note 28.

<sup>15</sup> Mudgalaputra excelled all the other disciples in miraculous power. Sariputra excelled in wisdom. *Fo-sho-hing-t'an king*, ver. 1406.

<sup>16</sup> There is no mention of Sariputra in the text, as Julien translates ; the two symbols, *she li*, for *sarira*, misled him.

the precincts of the place; many miracles are manifested also. Sometimes heavenly music is heard, at other times divine odours perceived. The lucky (*happy*) presages (*or*, the omens that indicate religious merit) would be difficult to recount in full.

Not far behind the *sangharama* (of *Anathapindada*) is the place where the Brahmacharins killed a courtesan, in order to lay the charge of murdering her on Buddha (*in order to slander him*). Now Tathagata was possessed of the tenfold powers,<sup>17</sup> without fear,<sup>18</sup> perfectly wise, honoured by men and Devas,<sup>19</sup> revered by saints and sages; then the heretics consulting together said, "We must devise some evil about him, that we may slander him before the congregation." Accordingly they allured and bribed this courtesan to come, as it were, to hear Buddha preach, and then, the congregation having knowledge of the fact of her presence, they (*the heretics*) took her and secretly killed her and buried her body beside a tree, and then, pretending to be affected with resentment, they acquainted the king (*with the fact of the woman's death*). The king ordered search to be made, and the body was found in the Jetavana. Then the heretics with a loud voice said, "This great Sramana Gautama<sup>20</sup> is ever preaching about moral duty and about patience (*forbearance*), but now having had secret correspondence with this woman, he has killed her so as to stop her mouth; but now, in the presence of adultery and murder, what room is there for morality and continence?" The Devas then in the sky joined together their voices and chanted, "This is a slander of the infamous heretics."

To the east of the *sangharama* 100 paces or so is a large and deep ditch; this is where Devadatta,<sup>21</sup> having plotted to kill Buddha with some poisonous medicine, fell down into hell. Devadatta was the son of Dronodana-*raja* (*Ho-wang*). Having applied himself for twelve years with earnestness, he was able to recite 80,000 (*verses*) from the treasury of the law. Afterwards, prompted by covetousness, he wished to acquire the divine (*supernatural*) faculties. Associating himself with evil companions, they consulted together, and he spake thus: "I possess thirty marks (*of a Buddha*), not much less than Buddha himself;

<sup>17</sup> Buddha was called *Dasabala* (*shi-li*) on account of the ten powers he possessed, for which see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 781, and Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 394.

<sup>18</sup> Abhaya, an epithet given to every Buddha (Eitel, *Handbook*, s. v.).

<sup>19</sup> Devamanussapujitam.

<sup>20</sup> This is Buddha's gotra name, taken from the name probably of the Purohita of the Sakyas. It is used in Northern books as a term of disrespect.

<sup>21</sup> Devadatta (*Ti-po-ta-to*) the cousin of Buddha, being the son of Dronodana, Buddha's uncle. He is also said to be his brother-in-law, being brother to Yasodhara, Buddha's wife. He was tempted to aim at the first place in the Buddhist community, and when he failed in this he plotted to take the life of Buddha. (See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 160).

a great company of followers surround me ; in what respect do I differ from Tathagata ? " Having thought thus, he forthwith tried to put a stumbling-block in the way of the disciples, but Sariputra and Mudgalaputra, obedient to Buddha's behest, and endowed with the spiritual power of Buddha himself, preached the law exhorting the disciples to re-union. Then Devadatta, not giving up his evil designs, wickedly placed some poison under his nails, designing to kill Buddha when he was paying him homage. For the purpose of executing this design he came from a long distance to this spot, but the earth opening, he went down alive into hell.

To the south of this again there is a great ditch, where Kukali<sup>22</sup> the Bhikshuni slandered Tathagata, and went down alive into hell.

To the south of the Kukali ditch about 800 paces is a large and deep ditch. Chanscha,<sup>23</sup> the daughter of a Brahman, calumniated Tathagata, and here went down alive into hell. Buddha was preaching, for the sake of Devas and men, the excellent doctrines of the law, when a female follower of the heretics, seeing from afar the Lord of the World surrounded by a great congregation who venerated and revered him, thought thus with herself, "I will this very day destroy the good name of this Gautama, in order that my teacher may alone enjoy a wide reputation." The tying a piece of wood next her person, she went to the garden of Anathapindada, and in the midst of the great congregation she cried with a loud voice and said, "This preacher of yours has had private intercourse with me, and I bear his child in my womb, the offspring of the Sakya tribe." The heretics all believed it, but the prudent knew it was a slander. At this time, Sakra, the king of Devas, wishing to dissipate all doubt about the matter, took the form of a white rat, and nibbled through the bandage that fastened the (wooden) pillow to her person. Having done so, it fell down to the ground with a great noise, which startled the assembly. Then the people, witnessing this event, were filled with increased joy ; and one in the crowd picking up the wooden bolster, held it up and showed it to the woman, saying, "Is this your child, thou bad one ?" Then the earth opened of itself, and she went down whole into the lowest hell of Avichi, and received her due punishment.

These three ditches<sup>24</sup> are unfathomable in their depth : when the floods of summer and autumn fill all the lakes and

<sup>22</sup> Kukali (Kiu-kia-li-pi-tsu) also called Kokali, interpreted "bad time." She is also called Gopali ; she was a follower of Devadatta.

<sup>23</sup> For the history of this woman, called Chinchī (Chan-che) or Chinchimāna, see Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 275 ; also Fa-hian, chap. xx.

<sup>24</sup> These gulfs or ditches have all been identified by Cunningham. See *Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 342.



ponds with water, these deep caverns show no signs of the water standing in them.

East of the *sangharama* 60 or 70 paces is a *vihara* about 60 feet high. There is in it a figure of Buddha looking to the east in a sitting posture. When Tathagata was in the world in old days, he discussed here with the heretics. Farther east is a Deva temple of equal size with the *vihara*. When the sun is rising, the Deva temple does not cast its shade on the *vihara*, but when it is setting, the *vihara* obscures the Deva temple.

Three or four li to the east of the *vihara* "which covers with its shadow" is a *stupa*. This is where Sariputra discussed with the heretics. When Sudatta first bought the garden of the Prince Jeta for the purpose of building a *vihara* for Buddha, then Sariputra accompanied the nobleman to inspect and assist the plan. On this occasion six masters of the heretics sought to deprive him of his spiritual power. Sariputra, as occasion offered, brought them to reason and subdued them. There is a *vihara* by the side, in front of which is built a *stupa*; this is where Tathagata defeated the heretics and acceded to the request of Visakha.<sup>25</sup>

On the south of the *stupa* erected on the spot where Buddha acceded to Visakha's request is the place where Virudhaka-*raja*,<sup>26</sup> having raised an army to destroy the family of the Sakyas, on seeing Buddha dispersed his soldiers. After King Virudhaka had succeeded to the throne, stirred up to hatred by his former disgrace, he equipped an army and moved forward with a great force. The summer heat being ended and everything arranged, he commanded an advance. At this time a Bhikshu, having heard of it, told Buddha; on this the Lord of the World was sitting beneath a withered tree; Virudhaka-*raja*, seeing him thus seated, some way off alighted from his chariot and paid him reverence, then as he stood up he said, "There are plenty of green and umbrageous tree; why do you not sit beneath one of these, instead of under this withered one with dried leaves, where you walk and sit?" The Lord said, "My honourable tribe is like branches and leaves; these being about to perish, what shade can there be for one belonging to it?" The king said, "The Lord of the World by his honourable regard for his family is able to turn my chariot." Then looking at him with emotion, he disbanded his army and returned to his country.

By the side of this place is a *stupa*; this is the spot where the Sakya maidens were slaughtered. Virudhaka-*raja* having destroyed the Sakyas, in celebration of his victory, took 500 of

<sup>25</sup> That is, accepted her offer to build a *vihara*. For the history of Visakha, see Hardy, *Man. of Budh.*, p. 220 seq.

<sup>26</sup> Virudhaka was the son of Prasena-jit by a servant-woman of the Sakyas. He had asked a wife of them, and they deceived him. See *infra*.

the Sakya maidens for his harem. The girls, filled with hatred and rage, said they would never obey the king, and reviled the king and his household. The king, hearing of it, was filled with rage, and ordered them all to be slaughtered. Then the officers, obedient to the king's orders, cut off their hands and feet, and cast them into a ditch. Then all the Sakya maidens, nursing their grief, invoked Buddha. The Lord by his sacred power of insight having beheld their pain and agony, bade a Bhikshu take his garment and go to preach the most profound doctrine to the Sakya girls, viz., on the bonds of the five desires, the misery of transmigration in the evil ways, the pain of separation between loved ones, and the long period (*distance*) of birth and death. Then the Sakya maidens, having heard the instructions of Buddha, put away the defilement of sense, removed all pollutions, and obtained the purity of the eyes of the law; then they died and were all born in heaven. Then Sakra, king of Devas, taking the form of a Brahman, collected their bones and burnt them. Men of succeeding years have kept this record.

By the side of the *stupa* commemorating the slaughter of the Sakyas, and not far from it, is a great lake which has dried up. This is where Virudhaka-*raja* went down bodily into hell. The world-honoured one having seen the Sakya maidens, went back to the Jetavana, and there told the Bhikshus, "Now is King Virudhaka's end come; after seven days' interval a fire will come forth to burn up the king." The king hearing the prediction, was very frightened and alarmed. On the seventh day he was rejoiced that no harm had come, and in order to gratify himself he ordered the women of his palace to go to the lake, and there he sported with them on its shores, strolling here and there with music and drinking. Still, however, he feared lest fire should burst out. Suddenly, whilst he was on the pure waters of the lake, the waves divided, and flames burst forth and consumed the little boat in which he was, and the king himself went down bodily into the lowest hell, there to suffer torments.

To the north-west of the *sangharama* 3 or 4 li, we come to the forest of *Obtaining-Sight* (*Aptanetravana*?) where are vestiges of Tathagata, who walked here for exercise, and the place where various holy persons have engaged in profound meditation. In all these places they have erected posts with inscription or else *stupas*.

Formerly there was in this country a band of 500 robbers, who roamed about through the towns and villages and pillaged the border of the country. Prasenajita-*raja* having seized them all, caused their eyes to be put out and abandoned them in the midst of a dark forest. The robbers, racked with pain, sought compassion as they invoked Buddha. At this time Tathagata was in the *vihara* of the Jetavana, and hearing their piteous cries



(i.e., by his spiritual power), he was moved to compassion, and caused a soft wind to blow gently from the Snowy Mountains, and bring with it some medicinal (*leaves?*) which filled up the cavity of their eye-sockets. They immediately recovered their sight, lo! the Lord of the World was standing before them. Arriving at the heart of wisdom, they rejoiced and worshipped. Fixing their walking-staves in the ground, they departed. This was how they took root and grew.

To the north-west of the capital 16 li or so, there is an old town. In the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to 20,000 years, this was the town in which Kasyapa Buddha was born. To the south of the town there is a *stupa*. This is the place where he first met his father after arriving at enlightenment.

To the north of the town is a *stupa*, which contains relics of the entire body<sup>27</sup> of Kasyapa Buddha. Both these were built by Asoka-raja. From this point going south-east 500 li or so, we come to the country of Kie-pi-lo-fa-see-ti (Kapilavastu).

#### KIE-PI-LO-FA-SU-TU [KAPILAVASTU].

This country<sup>28</sup> is about 4000 li in circuit. There are some ten desert<sup>29</sup> cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and in ruins. Its circuit cannot be accurately measured. The royal precincts<sup>30</sup> within the city measure some 14 or 15 li round. They were all built of brick. The foundation walls are still strong and high. It has been long deserted. The peopled villages<sup>31</sup> are few and waste.

There is no supreme ruler; each of the towns appoints its own ruler. The ground is rich and fertile, and is cultivated according to the regular season. The climate is uniform, the

<sup>27</sup> The expression used here is the same as that employed by Fa-hian when speaking of the great Kasyapa (chap. xxxiii), whose "entire body" is preserved in the Cock's-foot Mountain near Buddha Gaya.

<sup>28</sup> This is the country of Buddha's birth. The story of his ancestors' occupation of this district will be found in Sp. Hardy, *Man of Budh.*, chap. vi., and elsewhere. Speaking generally, the country of Kapilavastu is the tract of land lying between the Ghagra river and the Gandaka, from Faizabad to the confluence of these rivers. The direct measurement gives a circuit of 550 miles, which would represent upwards of 600 miles by road. Hiuen Tsiang estimates the circuit at 4000 li. The capital of the country, called by the same name, has been identified by Carlleyle, with a site called Bhuila, in the north-western part of the Basti district, about 25 miles north-east from Faizabad. It is plain that if this is so, the distance from Sravasti given by Hiuen Tsiang is much in excess of the actual distance. See *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. xii, p. 83.

<sup>29</sup> The expressions used in the text are very marked; the pilgrim says "desert cities ten in number are waste and desolate to the highest degree."

<sup>30</sup> Here we have again the expression *kung shing* to denote the fortified part of the town, within which was the palace and its surroundings. This is in agreement with Carlleyle's remark in *Archaeolog. Survey of India*, vol. xii, p. 144.

<sup>31</sup> Or, the inhabited suburbs or streets.

manners of the people soft and obliging. There are 1000 or more ruined *sangharamas* remaining; by the side of the royal precincts there is still a *sangahrama* with about 3000 (read 30) followers in it, who study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatiya school.

There are a couple of Deva temples, in which various sectaries worship (*live*). Within the royal precincts are some ruined foundation walls; these are the remains of the proper<sup>32</sup> palace of Suddhodana-*raja*; above is built a *vihara* in which is a statue of the king. Not far from this is a ruined foundation, which represents the sleeping palace of Mahamaya,<sup>33</sup> the queen. Above this they have erected a *vihara* in which is a figure of the queen.

By the side of this is a *vihara*;<sup>34</sup> this is where Bodhisattva descended spiritually into the womb of his mother. There is a representation of this scene<sup>35</sup> drawn in the *vihara*. The Mahasthavira school say the Bodhisattva was conceived on the 30th night of the month *U-ta-lo-'an-sha-cha* (Uttarashadha). This is the 15th day of the 5th month (*with us*). The other schools fix the event on the 23rd day of the same month. This would be the 8th day of the 5th month (*with us*).

To the north-east of the palace of the spiritual conception is a *stupa*; this is the place where Asita the Rishi prognosticated the fortune (*took the horoscope or signs of*) the royal prince.<sup>36</sup> On the day when the Bodhisattva was born there was a gathering (*a succession*) of lucky indications. Then Suddhodana-*raja* summoned all the soothsayers, and addressing them said, "With

<sup>32</sup> It may be either "the proper," *i.e.*, private, or "the principal" palace (*ching*). From Carlleyle's remarks we may perhaps conclude that this palace was situated in the southern portion of the enclosed precinct. The *vihara* had evidently been built after the palace was in ruins. The statue of the king seems to have been there in Hiuen Tsiang's time.

<sup>33</sup> Carlleyle excavated a site which he thinks represents this "bed-chamber." If we may judge from the size of the building (71 feet square), it would represent the palace of the king and the chamber of the queen. The fact of its being built of "very large ancient bricks" certainly favours the identification of the place with the inner city described by Hiuen Tsiang.

<sup>34</sup> Carlleyle places this *vihara* about 50 feet W.N.W. from the bed-chamber ruins, the *stupa* of Asita being situated to the north-east of it.

<sup>35</sup> This representative scene is one of the best known of the Buddhist sculptures. See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxxiii; *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. xxviii; *Lalita Vistara* (Foucaux), pl. v.

<sup>36</sup> The horoscope cast by Asita the soothsayer is another well-known incident in the Buddhist legend *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, vv. 70 ff. For an interesting representation of it see Mrs. Speirs' *Life in Ancient India*, p. 248, also Burgess, *Cave Temples* (Ajanta), p. 308. The *stupa* of Asita is supposed by Carlleyle to be the solid brick structure he found about 400 feet N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. from the bed-chamber of Maya. This may be so; but the horoscope was actually cast within the palace.

respect to this child, what are the fortunate and what the evil (*sings*)? As it is right, so do you clearly answer me." In reply they said, "According to the record of the former saints the signs are especially fortunate. If he remains in secular life he will be a Chakravartin monarch; if he leaves his home he will become a Buddha."<sup>37</sup>

At this time the Rishi Asita, from afar, stood before the door,<sup>38</sup> and requested to see the king. The king, overjoyed, went forth to meet and reverence him, and requested him to be seated on a precious chair; then addressing him he said, "It is not without an object that the Great Rishi has condescended to visit me this day." The Rishi said, "I was quietly resting (*or, observing the summer rest*) in the palace of the Devas, when I suddenly saw the multitude of the Devas dancing together for joy."<sup>39</sup> I forthwith asked why they rejoiced in this extravagant way, on which they said, 'Great Rishi, you should know that to-day is born in Jambudipa, of Maya, the first queen of Suddodana-*raja* of the Sakya line, a royal son, who shall attain the complete enlightenment of *sambodhi*, and become all-wise.'<sup>40</sup> Hearing this, I have come accordingly to behold the child; alas! that my age should prevent me awaiting the holy fruit."<sup>41</sup>

At the south gate of the city is a *stupa*. This is where the royal prince, when contending with the Sakya princes, cast the elephant away.<sup>42</sup> The royal prince having contended in the public competition (*of arts and athletic exercises*), was left entirely (*without compeer*) among them all, (*or, in every exercise*). And now the Maharaja Suddhodana, after receiving congratulations (*or, congratulating him*), was about to go back to the city.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Arrive at complete, equal, perfect, wisdom. "To leave his home" means, if he becomes a hermit or ascetic. The signs on the child's body are alluded to in ver. 45 of the *Buddha-charita* (*Fo-ho-hing tsan-king*), and the exact words of the prediction in the following verse, 46.

<sup>38</sup> From this it is plain that the site on which the *stupa* was afterwards built was originally a part of the palace.

<sup>39</sup> *Shau mo tsuh to*, moving their hands and feet. Such a scene among the Devas will be found in *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxxiii. fig. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Julien remarks in a note that this phrase *yeh tsai chi* (*Sambudhasa*) corresponds to the name given to the prince, viz., Sarvarthasiddha, but this signifies "possessed of every excellency" (*yih tsai yau i*).

<sup>41</sup> That is, either seeing him arrived at the holy fruit of a Buddha, or myself arriving at the holy fruit of an Arhat by his teaching.

<sup>42</sup> The spot should be just inside the southern gate of the city, not necessarily the royal city or the palace precincts, but the entire city. The story as it is generally received is that the elephant when it fell blocked the gate entrance, and that Nanda pulled it off the road and left it on one side. The prince then flung the elephant across the moat. It must, therefore, have been within the moat.

<sup>43</sup> Julien makes this return refer to the prince. But there is no mention made of him, but of the king.

At this time the coachman was leading out the elephant and just about to leave the city. Devadatta, confident as ever in his brute strength, was just entering the gate from without; forthwith he asked the coachman, "Who is going to ride on this gaily caparisoned elephant?" He said, "The royal prince is just about to return, therefore I am going to meet him." Devadatta, in an excited manner, pulled the elephant down, and struck his forehead and kicked his belly, and left him lying senseless, blocking the way so that no one could pass. As they could not move him out of the way, the passers-by were stopped on their route. Nanda coming afterwards, asked, "Who has killed the elephant?" They said, "It was Devadatta." Forthwith he (*Nanda*) drew it on one side of the road. The prince-royal then coming, again asked, "Who had done the foul deed of killing the elephant?" They replied, "Devadatta killed it and blocked up the gate with it, and Nanda drew it on one side to clear the road." The royal prince then lifted the elephant on high and threw it across the city moat; the elephant falling on the ground caused a deep and wide ditch; the people since then have commonly called it "the fallen-elephant ditch."<sup>44</sup>

By the side of this is a *vihara* in which is a figure of the royal prince. By the side of this again is a *vihara*; this was the sleeping apartment of the queen and the prince; in it is a likeness of Yasodhara and (*the child*) Rahula. By the side of the queen's chamber is a *vihara* with a figure of a pupil receiving his lessons; this indicates the old foundation of the school-house of the royal prince.

At the south-east angle of the city is a *vihara* in which is the figure of the royal prince riding a white and high-prancing horse;<sup>45</sup> this was the place where he left the city. Outside each of the four gates of the city there is a *vihara* in which there are respectively figures of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a Sraman.<sup>46</sup> It was in these places the royal prince, on going his rounds, beheld the various indications, on which he received an increase of (*religious*) feeling, and deeper disgust

<sup>44</sup> That is, the "Hastigarta." There is a circular tank about 340 feet to the south of the ditch of Bhuila which is still called the "Hathi Kund" or "Hathi Gadhe." General Cunningham is perfectly convinced that this is the spot indicated in the text (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. xii. *Introd.*). But, of course, the whole matter is legendary. The *vihas* by the side of this ditch, and said to be built on the site of the palace of the prince and his wife, would indicate that his palace was outside the walls; how, then, are we to explain the story of his flight from the palace?

<sup>45</sup> Julien gives "a white elephant."

<sup>46</sup> That is, the sights which met the prince's gaze when he left the city on his excursion. These predictive signs are well known. They are found also in the History of Barlaam and Joasaph (*Bodhisat*), to which I called attention in the year 1869, *Buddhist Pilgrims*. p. 86, n. Carileyle notices four mounds outside the citadel of Bhuila corresponding with the sites of these *vihas*.

at the world and its pleasures; and, filled with this conviction, he ordered his coachman to return and go home again.

To the south of the city going 50 li or so, we come to an old town where there is a *stupa*. This is the place where Krakuchchhanda Buddha was born, during the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to 60,000 years.<sup>47</sup>

To the south of the city, not far, there is a *stupa*; this is the place where, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.

To the south-east of the city is a *stupa* where are that Tathagata's relics (*of his bequeathed body*); before it is erected a stone pillar about 30 feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion.<sup>48</sup> By its side (*or, on its side*) is a record relating the circumstances of his *Nirvana*. It was erected by Asoka-rajā.

To the north-east of the town of Krakuchchhanda Buddha, going about 30 li, we come to an old capital (*or, great city*) in which there is a *stupa*. This is to commemorate the spot where, in the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to the age of 40,000 years, Kanakamuni Buddha was born.<sup>49</sup>

To the north-east of the city, not far, is a *stupa*; it was here, having arrived at complete enlightenment he met his father.

Farther north there is a *stupa* containing the relics of his bequeathed body; in front of it is a stone pillar with a lion on the top, and about 20 feet high; on this is inscribed a record of the events connected with his *Nirvana*; this was built by Asoka-rajā.

To the north-east of the city about 40 li is a *stupa*. This is the spot where the prince sat in the shade of a tree to watch the ploughing festival. Here he engaged in profound meditation and reached the condition of "absence of desire."<sup>50</sup> The king

<sup>47</sup> Krakuchchhanda was the first of the five Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa. The fabled birthplace of this Buddha must be sought about a *yojana* (8 miles) to the south-west of Kapilavastu, and not, as Carleyle indicates, at Nagra, 7½ miles to the north-west of that place. Fa-hian visited this place after leaving Sravasti, then went north about 8 miles, then east 8 miles to Kapilavastu. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi. p. 293.

<sup>48</sup> Carleyle, when at Nagra, thought he had discovered the pedestal on which this pillar stood; the pillar was gone, and the natives denied all knowledge of it or its history. Their ignorance is not to be wondered at, considering they lived 16 or 18 miles from the site named by Hiuen Tsiang.

<sup>49</sup> Kanakamuni, a mythological person, the second of the five Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa. His birthplace is identified by Carleyle with a village called Kanakpur, about a *yojana* to the west of Kapilavastu. As this distance and bearing agree with Fa-hian's account, and nearly so with that of Hiuen Tsiang, it may be correct.

<sup>50</sup> This incident is recorded in all the Lives of Buddha. See *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, vv. 330 ff. The figure of the prince lost in meditation under the Jambu tree will be found in *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxv. fig. 1, where the leaves or flowers of the tree are bent down to

seeing the prince in the shade of the tree and engrossed in quiet contemplation, and observing that whilst the sun's rays shed their bright light around him, yet the shadow of the tree did not move, his heart, recognising the spiritual character of the prince, was deeply reverent.

To the north-west of the capital there are several hundreds and thousands of *stupas*, indicating the spot where the members of the Sakya tribe were slaughtered. Virudhaka-*raja* having subdued the Sakyas, and captured the members of their tribe to the number of 9,990 myrads of people, then ordered them to be slaughtered.<sup>51</sup> They piled their bodies like straw, and their blood was collected in lakes. The Devas moved the hearts of men to collect their bones and bury them.

To the south-west of the place of massacre are four little *stupas*. This is the place where the four Sakyas withstood an army. When first Prasenajita became king, he sought an alliance by marriage with the Sakya race. The Sakyas despised him as of their family, and so deceived him by giving him as a wife a child of a servant, whom they largely endowed. Prasenajita-*raja* established her as his principal queen, and she brought forth in due time a son, who was called Virudhaka-*raja*. And now Virudhaka was desirous to go to the family of his maternal uncles to pursue his studies under their direction. Having come to the south part of the city, he there saw a new preaching-hall, and there he stopped his chariot. The Sakyas hearing of it, forthwith drove him away, saying, "How dare you, baseborn fellow! occupy this abode, an abode built by the Sakyas, in appearance (*or*, intended for) an abode of Buddha?"

After Virudhaka had succeeded to the throne he longed to revenge his former insult; he therefore raised an army and occupied this place with his troops, who took possession of the fields. Four men of the Sakyas who were engaged in ploughing between the watercourses<sup>52</sup> immediately opposed the progress of the soldiers, and having scattered them, entered the town. Their clansmen, considering that their tribe was one in which

cover the young prince, from the top of whose head the light of profound meditation proceeds, whilst the figures searching throughout the garden, and looking in at the three palaces of the prince, denote the perplexity of his attendants and father, as to his whereabouts. See the particulars in the *Romantic Legend of Buddha*.

<sup>51</sup> The enmity of Virudhaka (Pi-lu-tse-kia) was owing to the insult the Sakyas had paid his father in wedding him to a slave, and also to the epithet "base born" they applied to him (see *ante*, vol. i). His father, Prasenajita, was not a kinsman of the Sakyas (as Carileyle states), but an alien. The position the Sakyas held as "a holy family" is a peculiarity not yet thoroughly understood. The site of the slaughter has been identified with a place called Bhata or Badha, about 8 miles to the north-west of Bhula.

<sup>52</sup> *Hun man*, the rills dividing fields.



there had been a long succession of universal monarchs, and that the honourable children of such righteous kings<sup>53</sup> had dared to act cruelly and impetuously, and without patience to kill and slay, and so had brought disgrace on their family, drove them away from their home.

The four men, having been banished, went to the north among the Snowy Mountains; one became king of the country of Bamyān, one of Udyāna, one of Himātālā, one of Sambi (Kausambi?). They have transmitted their kingly authority from generation to generation without any interruption.<sup>54</sup>

To the south of the city 3 or 4 li is a grove of Nyagrodha trees in which is a stupa built by Asoka-*raja*. This is the place where Sakya Tathagata, having returned to his country after his enlightenment, met his father and preached the law.<sup>55</sup> Suddhodana-*raja*, knowing that Tathagata had defeated Mara and was engaged in travelling about, leading people to the truth and converting them, was moved by a strong desire to see him, and considered how he could pay him the reverence due to him. He therefore sent a messenger to invite Tathagata, saying, "Formerly you promised, when you had completed your purpose to become a Buddha, to return to your native place. These are your words still unperformed; now then is the time for you to condescend to visit me." The messenger having come to the place where Buddha was, expressed to him the king's desire (*mind*). Tathagata in reply said, "After seven days I will return to my native place." The messenger returning, acquainted the king with the news, on which Suddhodana-*raja* ordered his subjects to prepare the way by watering and sweeping it, and to adorn the road with incense and flowers; and then, accompanied by his officers of state, he proceeded 40 li beyond the city, and there drew up his chariot to await his arrival. Then Tathagata with a great multitude advanced; the eight Vajrapanis surrounded him as an escort, the four heavenly kings went before him; divine Sakra, with a multitude of Devas belonging to the world of desires (*Kāma-loka*), took their place on the left hand; Brahma-*raja* with Devas of *Rūpa-loka* accompanied him on the right. The Bhikshu priests walked in order behind, Buddha by himself, as the full moon among the stars, stood in the midst; his supreme spiritual presence shook the three worlds, the

<sup>53</sup> This is a difficult passage, and the translation doubtful, but it is less obscure than that in the French. The idea is that Sakya children, descended from holy kings, ought not to have resisted even an invader.

<sup>54</sup> This story of the banishment of the Sakya youths is met with in the Southern records (*Mahāvamsa*). See Max Muller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 285. The story of the king of Udyāna and the Naga girl occurs above, Book iii, vol. i.

<sup>55</sup> For this part of Buddha's history see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 19.

brightness of his person exceeded that of the seven lights;<sup>56</sup> and thus traversing the air he approached his native country.<sup>57</sup> The king and ministers having revered him, again returned to the kingdom, and they located themselves in this Nyagrodha grove.

By the side of the *sangharama*, and not far from it, is a *stupa*; this is the spot where Tathagata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt a golden-tissued *kashaya* garment.<sup>58</sup> A little farther on is another *stupa*; this is the place where Tathagata converted eight king's sons and 500 Sakyas.

Within the eastern gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *stupa*; this is where the Prince Siddhartha practised (*athletic sports and competitive*) arts.

Outside the gate is the temple of Isvara-deva. In the temple is a figure of the Deva made of stone, which has the appearance of rising in a bent position.<sup>59</sup> This is the temple which the royal prince when an infant (*in swaddling clothes*) entered. King Suddhodana was returning from the Lumbini (Lavani—La-fa-ni) garden,<sup>60</sup> after having gone to meet the prince. Passing by this temple the king said, "This temple is noted for its many spiritual exhibitions (*miracles*). The Sakya children<sup>61</sup> who here seek divine protection always obtain what they ask; we must take the royal prince to this place and offer up our worship." At this time the nurse (*foster-mother*), carrying the child in her arms, entered the temple; then the stone image raised itself and saluted the prince. When the prince left, the image again seated itself.

Outside the south gate of the city, on the left of the road,

<sup>56</sup> Sun, moon, and five planets.

<sup>57</sup> The exaggeration found in the visit of Buddha to his native country is common to all the records.

<sup>58</sup> This is the garment supposed to be kept by the great Kasyapa in the Cock's-foot Mountain for Maitreya. Buddha's aunt was Mahaprajapati, who was at the head of the female disciples.

<sup>59</sup> This is, as it seems, the meaning of the passage, literally, "the appearance of rising, bendingly," i.e., rising and bending. This rendering, which differs so widely from Julien's, is confirmed by the scene found in *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxi. (upper disc.), where the large figure "rising bendingly" is that of Isvara, and the cloth with the feet marked on it represents the infant Buddha. Suddhodana and Maya (or Prajapati) are also represented.

<sup>60</sup> This garden was Buddha's birthplace. The name Lumbini is said to have been derived from that of the wife of Suprabuddha; his daughter was Maya, the mother of Buddha. The Chinese equivalent in the text, La-fa-ni, may possibly be connected with the Sanskrit *lavana*, saline; but Lavani is a feminine personal name.

<sup>61</sup> In the plate referred to above, there are none but women present (except Suddhodana), as if they were praying for their children.



is a *stupa*; it was here the royal prince contended with the Sakyas in athletic sports (*arts*) and pierced with his arrows the iron targets.<sup>62</sup>

From this 30 li south-east is a small *stupa*.<sup>63</sup> Here there is a fountain, the waters of which are as clear as a mirror. Here it was, during the athletic contest, that the arrow of the prince, after penetrating the targets, fell and buried itself up to the feather in the ground, causing a clear spring of water to flow forth. Common tradition has called this the *arrow fountain* (*Sarakupa*); persons who are sick by drinking the water of this spring are mostly restored to health; and so people coming from a distance taking back with them some of the mud (*moist earth*) of this place, and applying it to the part where they suffer pain, mostly recover from their ailments.

To the north-east of the *arrow well* about 80 or 90 li, we come to the Lumbini (Lavani) garden. Here is the bathing tank of the Sakyas, the water of which is bright and clear as a mirror, and the surface covered with a mixture of flowers.

To the north of this 24 or 25 paces there is an *Asoka-flower tree*,<sup>64</sup> which is now decayed; this is the place where Bodhisattva was born on the eighth day of the second half of the month called Vaisakha, which corresponds with us to the eighth day of the third month. The school of the Sthaviras (Shang-tso-pu) say it was on the fifteenth day of the second half of the same month, corresponding to the fifteenth day of the third month with us. East from this is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*, on the spot where the two dragons bathed the body of the prince.<sup>65</sup> When Bodhisattva was born, he walked without assistance in the direction of the four quarters, seven paces in each direction, and said, "I am the only lord in heaven and earth; from this time forth my births are finished." Where his feet had trod there sprang up great flowers. Moreover, two dragons sprang forth, and, fixed in the air, poured down the one a cold and the other a warm water stream from his mouth, to wash the prince.

To the east of this *stupa* are two fountains of pure water,

<sup>62</sup> The account of the contest with the Sakya princes will be found in the *Romantic Legend of Buddha*. See also Fa-hian, p. 86, n. 3. The spot is identified by Carleyle; *Report*, p. 187.

<sup>63</sup> Fa-hian places this *stupa* at the same distance and in the same direction. It has been identified with a spot called Sur-kuia, a corruption of Sara-kupa (arrow well), about 4½ miles due south of the former *stupa* (*Arch. Survey*, vol. xii, p. 188). The bearing does not, however, correspond with that given by the Chinese pilgrims. The story of the arrow is given in the *Lalit Vistara*, p. 149.

<sup>64</sup> *Wu-yu-shu*. It is curious that it should be so frequently stated that the child was born under a *sal* tree (Carleyle, *op. cit.*, p. 200, and elsewhere); S. Hardy, *Man. Bud.*, p. 167.

<sup>65</sup> For all these events the ordinary Lives of Buddha may be consulted. I have been unable to follow Carleyle in his various identifications of the spots named in the text.

by the side of which have been built two *stupas*. This is the place where two dragons appeared from the earth. When Bodhisattva was born, the attendants and household relations hastened in every direction to find water for the use of the child. At this time two springs gurgled forth from the earth just before the queen, the one cold, the other warm, using which they bathed him.

To the south of this is a *stupa*. This is the spot where Sakra, the lord of Devas, received Bodhisattva in his arms. When Bodhisattva was born, then Sakra, the king of Devas, took him and wrapped him in an exquisite and divine robe.

Close to this there are four *stupas* to denote the place where the four heavenly kings received Bodhisattva in their arms. When Bodhisattva was born from the rightside of his mother, the four kings wrapped him in a golden-coloured cotton vestment, and placing him on a golden slab (*bench*) and bringing him to his mother, they said, "The queen may rejoice indeed at having given birth to such a fortunate child!" If the Devas rejoiced at the event, how much more should men!

By the side of these *stupas* and not far from them is a great stone pillar, on the top of which is the figure of a horse, which was built by Asoka-*raja*. Afterwards, by the contrivance of a wicked dragon, it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a little river which flows to the south-east. The people of the place call it the *river of oil*.<sup>66</sup> This is the stream which the Devas caused to appear as a pure and glistening pool for the queen, when she had brought forth her child, to wash and purify herself in. Now it is changed and become a river, the stream of which is still unctuous.

From this going east 300 li or so, across a wild and deserted jungle, we arrive at the kingdom of Lan-mo (Ramagrama).

#### LAN-MO [RAMAGRAMA]

The kingdom of Lan-mo<sup>67</sup> has been waste and desolate for many years. There is no account of its extent. The towns are decayed and the inhabitants few.

To the south-east of the old capital (*town*) there is a brick *stupa*, in height less than 100 feet. Formerly, after the *Nirvana* of Tathagata, a previous king of this country having got a share of the *sariras* of his body, returned home with them, and to

<sup>66</sup> It is plain from this that "the river of oil" was close to the spot where the child was born, and flowed through the garden.

<sup>67</sup> The Chinese equivalents give us simply Rama, but that is the name of the country. Ramagrama would be the old capital. There can be no doubt as to the restoration; the *Mahawanso* refers to the relic tower of Ramagrama (Turnour's *Mahaw.*, pp. 184, 185), which is described by Hsien Tsiang and Fa-hian. The site has not been satisfactorily determined. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 420 f.

honour these relics he built (*this stupa*). Miraculous signs are here displayed, and a divine light from time to time shines around.

By the side of the *stupa* is a clear lake (*tank*). A dragon at certain periods<sup>68</sup> comes forth and walks here, and changing his form and snake-like exterior, marches round the *stupa*, turning to the right to pay it honour. The wild elephants come in herds, gather flowers, and scatter them here. Impelled by a mysterious power, they have continued to offer this service from the first till now. In former days, when Asoka-*raja*, dividing the relics, built *stupas*, having opened the *stupas* built by the kings of the seven countries, he proceeded to travel to this country, and put his hand to the work (*viz., of opening this stupa*);<sup>69</sup> the dragon, apprehending the desecration of the place, changed himself into the form of a Brahman, and going in front, he bowed down before the elephant<sup>70</sup> and said, "Maharaja! your feelings are well affected to the law of Buddha, and you have largely planted (*good seed*) in the field of religious merit. I venture to ask you to detain your carriage awhile and condescend to visit my dwelling." The king replied, "And where is your dwelling? is it near at hand?" The Brahman said, "I am the Naga king of this lake. As I have heard that the great king desires to build a superior field of merit,<sup>71</sup> I have ventured to ask you to visit my abode." The king, receiving this invitation, immediately entered the dragon precinct, and sitting there for some time, the Naga advanced towards him and said, "Because of my evil *karma* I have received this Naga body; by religious service to these *sariras* of Buddha I desire to atone for and efface my guilt. Oh, that the king would himself go and inspect (the *stupa*, or the *relics*) with a view to worship. Asoka-*raja* having seen (*the character of the place*), was filled with fear, and said, "All these appliances for worship are unlike anything seen amongst men." The Naga said, "If it be so, would that the king would not attempt to destroy the *stupa*!" The king, seeing that he could not measure his power with that of the Naga, did not attempt to open the *stupa* (*to take out the relics*). At the spot where the dragon came out of the lake is an inscription to the above effect."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Or it may be translated "every day."

<sup>69</sup> This translation differs entirely from Julien's; the story, however, of Asoka's dividing the relics which the seven kings had acquired after the cremation is well known. (See *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, vers. 2297, 2298).

<sup>70</sup> It is possible that *siang* (elephant) in this passage is a misprint for *r'how* (head): it would then be, "knocking his head (*k'how r'how*) before the king, he said," &c.; but as there is allusion to a carriage or conveyance in the next sentence, the reading may be correct.

<sup>71</sup> I.e., to obtain a superior merit by building *stupas*.

<sup>72</sup> For a similar account, see Fahian, chap. xxiii.

Not far from the neighbourhood of this *stupa* is a *sangharama*, with a very few priests attached to it. Their conduct is respectful and scrupulously correct; and one Sramanera manages the whole business of the society. When any priests come from distant regions, they entertain them with the greatest courtesy and liberality; during three days they keep them in their society, and offer them the four necessary things.<sup>73</sup>

The old tradition is this: Formerly there were some Bhikshus who agreed<sup>74</sup> to come together from a distance, and to travel to worship this *stupa*. They saw when they had arrived a herd of elephants, coming and departing together. Some of them brought on their tusks shrubs (*leaves and branches*), others with their trunks sprinkled water, some of them brought different flowers, and all offered worship (*as they stood*) to the *stupa*. When the Bhikshus saw this, they were moved with joy and deeply affected. Then one of them giving up his full orders<sup>75</sup> (*ordination*), vowed to remain here and offer his services continually (*to the stupa*), and expressing his thoughts to the others, he said, "I indeed, considering these remarkable signs of abounding merit, count as nothing my own excessive labours during many years amongst the priests."<sup>76</sup> This *stupa* having some relics of Buddha, by the mysterious power of its sacred character draws together the herd of elephants, who water the earth around the bequeathed body (*of the saint*). It would be pleasant to finish the rest of my years in this place, and to obtain with the elephants the end (*at which they aim*)." They all replied, "This is an excellent design; as for ourselves, we are stained by our heavy (*sins*); our wisdom is not equal to the formation of such a design; but according to your opportunity look well to your own welfare, and cease not your efforts in this excellent purpose."

Having departed from the rest, he again repeated his earnest vow, and with joy devoted himself to a solitary life during the rest of his days.

<sup>73</sup> Food, drink, clothing, medicine.

<sup>74</sup> So I translate *tung chi*, "were of the same mind." Julien renders it, "their brethren," as the equivalent of "those of the same mind," and he makes these invite (*siang chaou*) the other. It may be so, but there were evidently no brethren at the *stupa*, as the narrative shows. This old tradition is also related by Fa-hian (chap. xxiii).

<sup>75</sup> This is undoubtedly the meaning of the passage. He was a Bhikshu, i.e., fully ordained; but now he gives up the privilege of that position, and undertakes the duties of a Sramanera, to water and sweep the courts of the *stupa*.

<sup>76</sup> This appears to me to be the meaning of the passage: The Bhikshu was led by witnessing the devotion of the elephants to count his own conduct as trifling compared with theirs. He therefore casts in his lot with them. M. Julien takes a different view of the meaning of the original.

On this he constructed for himself a leafy *pannasala*,<sup>77</sup> led the rivulets so as to form a pool, and at their proper seasons gathered flowers, and watered and swept and garnished the *stupa*. Thus during a succession of years he persevered without change of purpose or plan.

The kings of the neighbouring countries, hearing the history, greatly honoured him; gave up their wealth and treasure, and together founded the *sangharama*. Then they requested (*the Sramanera*) to take charge of the affairs of the congregation; and from that time till now there has been no interruption in the original appointment, and a *Sramanera* has ever held the chief office in the convent.

Eastward from this convent, in the midst of a great forest, after going about 100 li, we come to a great *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*. This is the place where the prince-royal, after having passed from the city, put off his precious robes, loosed his necklace, and ordered his coachman<sup>78</sup> to return home. The prince-royal in the middle of the night traversing the city, at early dawn arrived at this place,<sup>79</sup> and then, heart and body bent on accomplishing his destiny, he said, "Here have I come out of the prison stocks. Here have I shaken off my chains." This is the place where he left for the last time his harnessed horse,<sup>80</sup> and taking the *mani* gem<sup>81</sup> from his crown, he commanded his coachman, saying, "Take this gem, and, returning, say to my father the king, now I am going away, not in inconsiderate disobedience, but to banish lust, and to destroy the power of impermanence, and to stop all the leaks of existence."

Then Chandaka (Chen-to-kia) replied, "What heart can I have to go back thus, with a horse without a rider?" The prince having persuaded him with gentle words, his mind was opened and he returned.

To the east of the *stupa* where Chandaka returned is a Jambu tree with leaves and branches fallen off but the trunk still upright. By the side of this is a little *stupa*. This is the

<sup>77</sup> *Pānsala* is a Sinhalese word for "leafy hut," i.e., a residence made out of boughs of trees.

<sup>78</sup> His coachman, or equerry, was called Chandaka. For an account of his dismissal see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, *varga* 6.

<sup>79</sup> The place appears to be "Maneya" about 34 miles E.S.E. of Bhuila.

<sup>80</sup> It is true that *kea* means "a chariot"; but it also means "a horse saddled for service"; and as all the evidence, both of the books and sculptures, is in favour of the prince sending back his "horse", I have used this translation. But it may also be translated "chariot," as the answer of Chandaka seems to require.

<sup>81</sup> *Mo-ni*, generally called the *chudamani*.

place where the prince exchanged his precious<sup>82</sup> robe for one made of deerskin. The prince had cut off his hair and exchanged his lower garments, and although he had got rid of his collar of precious stones, yet there was one divine garment (*still on his person*). "This robe," he said, "is greatly in excess (*of my wants*); how shall I change it away?" At this time a *Suddhavaśa-deva*<sup>83</sup> transformed himself into a hunter with robes of deerskin, and holding his bow and carrying his quiver. The prince, raising his garment, addressed him thus: "I am desirous to exchange garments with you. Oh, that you would assent." The hunter said "Good!" The prince, loosing his upper garment, gave it to the hunter. The hunter having received it, resumed his *Deva* body, and holding the garment he had obtained, rose into the air and departed.

By the side of the *stupa* commemorating this event, and not far from it, is a *stupa* built by *Asoka-raja*. This is the spot where the prince had his head shaved. The prince taking a knife (*sword*) from the hands of *Chandaka*, himself cut off his locks. *Sakra*, king of *Devas*, took the hair to his heavenly palace to offer it worship. At this time a *Suddhavaśa-deva*, transforming himself into a barber, and holding his razor in his hand, advanced towards the prince. The latter hereupon addressed him, "Can you shave off the hair? Will you favour me by so doing to me?" The transformed *Deva* being so directed, accordingly shaved his head.

The time when the prince left the city and became a recluse is not quite fixed. Some say that *Bodhisattva* was then nineteen years of age; others say he was twenty-nine, and that it was on the eighth day of the second half of the month *Vaisakha*, which corresponds to our fifteenth day of the third month.

To the south-east of the head-shaving *stupa*, in the middle of a desert, going 180 or 190 li, we come to a *Nyagrodha* grove in which there is a *stupa* about 30 feet high. Formerly, when *Tathagata* had died and his remains had been divided, the *Brahmans* who had obtained none, came to the place of cremation, and taking the remnant of coals and cinders to their native country, built this *stupa* over them,<sup>84</sup> and offered their religious services to it. Since then wonderful signs have occurred in this place; sick persons who pray and worship here are mostly cured.

By the side of the ashes *stupa* is an old *sangharama*, where

<sup>82</sup> His robe ornamented with various gems. I find nothing about "a hunter" in the text, although it was with a hunter the exchange was made.

<sup>83</sup> A *Deva* of the "pure abodes"; a *Deva* of the five highest *Rupa-brahma* heavens. See Childers' *Pali Dict.* sub voc. *Sattaloka*.

<sup>84</sup> This is the "Ashes Dagoba," referred to *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2284.



there are traces of the four former Buddhas, who walked and sat there.

On the right hand and left of this convent there are several hundred *stupas*, among which is a large one built by Asoka-*raja*; although it is mostly in ruins, yet its height is still about 100 feet.

From his going north-east through a great forest, along a dangerous and difficult road, where wild oxen and herds of elephants and robbers and hunters cause incessant trouble to travellers, after leaving the forest we come to the kingdom of Kiu-shi-ua-k'ie-lo (Kusinagara).

#### KIU-SHI-NA-K'IE-LO [KUSINAGARA]

The capital<sup>85</sup> of this country is in ruins, and its towns and villages waste and desolate. The brick foundation walls<sup>86</sup> of the old capital are about 10 li in circuit. There are few inhabitants, and the avenues of the town are deserted and waste. At the north-east angle of the city gate<sup>87</sup> is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. This is the old house of Chunda (Chun-t'o);<sup>88</sup> in the middle of it is a well which was dug at the time when he was about to make his offering (*to Buddha*). Although it has overflowed for years and months, the water is still pure and sweet.

To the north-west of the city 3 or 4 li, crossing the Ajitavati ('O-shi-to-fa-ti')<sup>89</sup> river, on the western bank, not far, we come to a grove of sala trees. The *sala* tree is like the *Huh* tree, with a greenish white bark and leaves very glistening and smooth. In this wood are four trees of an unusual height, which indicate the place where Tathagata died.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Kusinagara, Kusinagari, Kusanagara, Kusigramaka, or Kusinara, the scene of Buddha's death and burial, has been identified by Wilson and Cunningham with the present village of Kasia, 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur. It stood close to the Hiranyavati river (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2200); this must be the same as the Little Gaudaki river, or one of its feeders. The channel of this river, however, has undergone frequent changes. See *J. R. As. S.*, vol. v. pp. 123 f.; Burnouf, *Introd.* (2nd ed.), pp. 75, 347; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* (2nd ed.), vol. i. pp. 171, 662; *Lalita Vistara*, pp. 416 f., 419 ff.

<sup>86</sup> Cunningham speaks of the bricks of which the *stupas* were built (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 77).

<sup>87</sup> Asvaghosha speaks of the *Lung-siang* gate, which must have led towards the river (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2200).

<sup>88</sup> Chunda was a householder who invited Buddha to his house and there gave him his last repast (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1947). For an account of Chunda's offering, according to the later school of Buddhism, see elsewhere.

<sup>89</sup> In Chinese Wu-shing, "invincible." This is the same as the Shilai-na-fa-ti or Hiranyavati river, in Chinese Yeu-kin-ho, "the river that has gold."

<sup>90</sup> The record generally speaks of two sala trees (*Shorea robusta*) (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1950), and they are represented in the sculpture of the Nirvana in Cave xxvi. at Ajanta (Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pl. 1.).

There is (here) a great brick *vihara*, in which is a figure of the *Nirvana* of Tathagata. He is lying with his head to the north as if asleep. By the side of this *vihara* is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*; although in a ruinous state, yet it is some 200 feet in height. Before it is a stone pillar to record the *Nirvana* of Tathagata; although there is an inscription on it, yet there is no date as to year or month.

According to the general tradition, Tathagata was eighty years old when, on the 15th day of the second half of the month Vaisakha, he entered *Nirvana*. This corresponds to the 15th day of the 3rd month with us. But the Sarvastivadins say that he died on the 8th day of the second half of the month Kartika, which is the same as the 8th day of the 9th month with us. The different schools calculate variously from the death of Buddha. Some say it is 1,200 years and more since then. Others say, 1,300 and more. Others say 1,500 and more. Others say that 900 years have passed, but not 1,000 since the *Nirvana*.<sup>91</sup>

By the side of the *vihara*, and not far from it, is a *stupa*. This denotes the place where Bodhisattva, when practising a religious life, was born as the king of a flock of pheasants (*chi*—S. *kapinjala*), and caused a fire to be put out. Formerly there was in this place a great and shady forest, where beasts and birds congregated and built their nests or dwelt in caves. Suddenly a fierce wind burst from every quarter, and a violent conflagration spread on every side. At this time there was a pheasant who, moved by pity and tenderness, hastened to plunge itself in a stream of pure water, and then flying up in the air, shook the drops from its feathers (*on the flames*). Whereupon Sakra, king of Devas, coming down, said (*to the bird*), "Why are you so foolish as to tire yourself, thus fluttering your wings? A great fire is raging, it is burning down the forest trees and the desert grass; what can such a tiny creature as you do to put it out?" The bird said, "And who are you?" He replied, "I am Sakra, king of Devas." The bird answered, "Now Sakra, king of Devas, has great power of religious merit, and every wish he has he can gratify; to deliver from this calamity and avert the evil would be as easy as opening and shutting his hand. There can be no propriety in permitting this calamity to last."<sup>92</sup> But the fire is burning fiercely on every side, there is no time for words." And so saying he flew away again, and ascending up, sprinkled the water from his wings. Then the king of the Devas took the

<sup>91</sup> The various dates here recorded would correspond with 552 B.C., 652 B.C., 852 B.C., and a date between 252 B.C. and 352 B.C. By this last Hiuen Tsiang probably means to place the *Nirvana*, a hundred years before Asoka, i.e., about 325 B.C., which is the date he employs elsewhere. The Southern date is 543 B.C., but the most recent researches place it between 477 and 482 B.C. This is generally accepted.

<sup>92</sup> This may be otherwise translated: "if my request is without effect, with whom lies the fault?"



water in the hollow of his hand<sup>93</sup> and poured it out on the forest and extinguished the fire; the smoke was cleared away and the living creatures saved. Therefore the *stupa* is still called "the extinguishing-fire *stupa*."

By the side of this, not far off, is a *stupa*. On this spot Bodhisattva, when practising a religious life, being at that time a deer, saved (or, rescued)<sup>94</sup> living creatures. In very remote times this was a great forest; a fire burst out in the wild grass that grew in it. The birds<sup>95</sup> and beasts were sorely distressed. Before them was the barrier of a swiftly flowing river. Behind them the calamity of the raging fire which barred their escape. There was no help for it but to plunge into the water, and there drowned, they perished. This deer, moved by pity, placed his body across the stream, which lashed his sides and broke his bones, whilst he strove with all his strength to rescue the drowning creatures. A worn-out hare coming to the bank, the deer with patience bearing his pain and fatigue, got him safely across, but his strength being now worn out, he was engulfed in the water and died. The Devas collecting his bones raised this *stupa*.

To the west of this place, not far off, is a *stupa*. This is where Subhadra<sup>96</sup> (Shen-hien) died (entered Nirvana). Subhadra was originally a Brahman teacher. He was 120 years of age; being so old, he had acquired in consequence much wisdom. Hearing that Buddha was about to die, he came to the two<sup>97</sup> (*sala*) trees, and asked Ananda, saying, "The Lord is about to die; pray let me ask him respecting some doubts I have, which still hamper me." Ananda replied, "The Lord is about to die; pray do not trouble him." He said, "I hear that Buddha is difficult to meet in the world, and that the true law is difficult to hear. I have some grave doubts; there is no ground for fear." On being invited, Subhadra at once entered, and first asked Buddha, "There are many different persons who call themselves masters, each having a different system of

<sup>93</sup> Taking a handful of water.

<sup>94</sup> There is an error in the text, *sha* (killed) for *kew* (delivered). Julien translates the passage "took the form of a deer, and sacrificed his life." The former part, "took the form of a deer," cannot be correct, the original is *wei luh*, being a deer; with regard to the second part, "sacrificed his life," the original is *sha sang*, which is literally "to kill living animals for food." I have preferred to consider *sha* a mistake for *kew*, to deliver.

<sup>95</sup> It is difficult to understand why the *birds* should be afraid of the river.

<sup>96</sup> For the circumstances attending the conversion of Subhadra (Su-po-t'o-lo), see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 26, p. 290. In Chinese his name is Shen-hien, "the very virtuous."

<sup>97</sup> Here the two trees are referred to. The four which existed in Hiuen Tsiang's time were probably of a later date, and had been planted two at the head and two at the feet where Buddha died.

doctrine, and pretending therewith to guide the people. Is Gautama (Kiu-ta-mo)<sup>98</sup> able to fathom their doctrine?" Buddha said, "I know their doctrine thoroughly," and then for Subhadra's sake he preached the law.

Subhadra having heard (*the sermon*), his mind, pure and faithful, found deliverance, and he asked to be received into the church as a fully ordained disciple. Then Tathagata addressed him saying, "Are you able to do so? Unbelievers and other sectaries who prepare themselves for a pure mode of life<sup>99</sup> ought to pass a four years' novitiate, to exhibit their conduct and test their disposition; if their characters and words be unexceptionable, then such persons may enter my profession; but in your case, whilst living amongst men, you have observed their discipline. There should be no difficulty, then, to prevent your full ordination."

Subhadra said, "The Lord is very pitiful and very gracious, without any partiality. Is he then willing to forego in my case the four years of the threefold preparatory discipline?"<sup>100</sup>

Buddha said, "As I before stated, this has been done whilst living among men."

Then Subhadra, leaving his home immediately, took full orders as a priest. Then applying himself with all diligence, he vigorously disciplined both body and mind, and so being freed from all doubt, in the middle of the night (*of Buddha's Nirvana*), not long after (*the interview*), he obtained the fruit, and became an Arhat without any imperfection. Being thus perfected in purity, he could not bear to await Buddha's death (*great Nirvana*), but in the midst of the congregation, entering the *samadhi* of "fire-limit" (*Agni-dhatu*), and after displaying his spiritual capabilities, he first entered *Nirvana*. He was thus the very last convert of Tathagata, and the first to enter *Nirvana*. This is the same as the hare who was last saved in the story that has just been told.

Beside (*the stupa of*) Subhadra's *Nirvana* is a *stupa*; this is the place where the Vajrapani (Chi-kin-kang)<sup>101</sup> fell fainting

<sup>98</sup> The expression "Gautama" is used by Subhadra because he was a Brahman unbeliever.

<sup>99</sup> This does not, as it appears, refer to the life of a Sramana, but to the preparation of a Brahmachara; the previous discipline of the Brahman (*Fan-hing...*). The "unbelievers," in Chinese *Wai-tao*, translated Tirthikas, in the *Mahavyutpatti*.

<sup>100</sup> The whole of this passage is obscure; the reference seems to be to a four years' preparatory course of discipline practised by the *Sikshya-mana* (pupil); for the three-fold character of their discipline, see *Fo-koue-ki*, p. 182. This previous course of discipline Buddha is willing to remit in the case of Subhadra, because he had already practised it "in the world," that is, in his own religious training.

<sup>101</sup> This incident is also referred to by Fa-hian (Beal, *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 95). There is some difficulty in the matter, because the Mallas, who were present at the *Nirvana*, are called *lih sse*, and they did "sink

on the earth. The great merciful Lord of the World, having, according to the condition of the persons concerned, finished his work of converting the world, entered on the joy of the *Nirvana* between the two *sala* trees; with his head to the north, he there lay asleep. The Mallas, with their diamond maces and divine though secret characteristics,<sup>102</sup> seeing Buddha about to die, were deeply affected with pity, and cried, "Tathagata is leaving us and entering the great *Nirvana*; thus are we without any refuge or protection to defend us; the poisonous arrow has deeply penetrated our vitals, and the fire of sorrow burns us up without remedy!" Then letting go their diamond clubs, they fell prostrate on the earth, and so remained for a long time. Then rising again, and deeply affected with compassion and love, they thus spoke together, "Who shall now provide us a boat to cross over the great sea of birth and death? Who shall light a lamp to guide us through the long night of ignorance?"

By the side where the diamond (*mace-holders*) fell to the earth is a *stupa*. This is the place where for seven days after Buddha had died they offered religious offerings. When Tathagata was about to die, a brilliant light shone everywhere; men and Devas were assembled, and together showed their sorrow as they spoke thus one to the other, "Now the great Buddha, Lord of the World, is about to die, the happiness of men is gone, the world has no reliance." The Tathagata, reposing on his right side upon the lion-bed, addressed the great congregation thus, "Say not Tathagata has gone for ever (*perished*), because he dies; the body of the law<sup>103</sup> endures for ever! unchangeable is this! Put away all idleness, and without delay seek for emancipation (*from the world*)."

Then the Bhikshus sobbing and sighing with piteous grief, Aniruddha<sup>104</sup> bade the Bhikshus cease. "Grieve not thus," he said, "lest the Devas should deride." Then all the Mallas (Mo-la) having offered their offerings, desired to raise the golden coffin, and bring it to the place of cremation. Then Aniruddha

prostrate on the earth" (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, ver. 2195). But the text seems to refer to some superhuman being, for the Vajrapani is called "holding-diamond-mace-spiritual-secret-vestige-mighty-lord"; this phrase is explained by Eitel (*Handbook*, sub voc. *Vajrapani*) to refer to Indra, a sort of demon king, with 500 Yaksha followers. In the great picture of the *Nirvana* brought from Japan by Borlase, and exhibited for a time at Bethnal Green, there is such a figure lying on the ground.

<sup>102</sup> I have retained this translation, notwithstanding Dr. Eitel's explanation, as it is literally correct, and in agreement with Asvaghosha. Moreover, from the subsequent exclamations, it is plain that the persons who spoke were mortals, and disciples of Buddha, and they offered their services after his death for seven days.

<sup>103</sup> The *Dharmakaya*, the spiritual presence of Buddha in his words.

<sup>104</sup> Aniruddha ('O-ni-liu-t'o'). There is some difficulty in knowing whether Aniruddha (cousin of Buddha, being a son of Amritodana), or

addressed them all, and bade them stop, for the Devas desired to offer their worship during seven days.

Then the devas (*the heavenly host*), holding exquisite divine flowers, discoursed through space the praises of his sacred qualities, each in full sincerity of heart offering his sacrifice or worship.

By the side of the place where the coffin was detained is a *stupa*; this is where the queen Mahamaya<sup>105</sup> wept for Buddha.

Tathagata having departed, and his body being laid in the coffin, then Aniruddha, ascending to the heavenly mansions, addressed the queen Maya and said, "The supremely holy Lord of Religion has now died!"

Maya having heard of it, suppressed her sobs, and with the body of Devas came to the two *sala* trees. Seeing the *sanghati* robe, and the *Patra*, and the religious staff, she embraced them as she recognised each, and then ceased awhile to act,<sup>106</sup> till once again with loud accents she cried, "The happiness of men and gods is done! The world's eyes put out! All things are desert, without a guide!"

Then by the holy power of Tathagata the golden coffin of itself opened; spreading abroad a glorious light, with hands conjoined, and sitting upright, he saluted his loving mother (*and said*), "You have come down from far; you who live so religiously need not be sad!"

Ananda, suppressing his grief, inquired and said, "What shall I say hereafter when they question me?" In answer he rejoined, "(Say this), when Buddha had already died, his loving mother Maya, from the heavenly courts descending, came to the twin *sala* trees. Then Buddha, bent on teaching the irreverent<sup>107</sup> among men, from out his golden coffin, with hands conjoined, for her sake, preached the law."

To the north of the city, after crossing the river,<sup>108</sup> and going 300 paces or so, there is a *stupa*. This is the place where they burnt the body of Tathagata. The earth is now of a blackish

Anuruddha is referred to in the text; in the one case, Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 294) states that Anuruddha was the personal attendant on Buddha at the time of his death; but, on the other hand, Asvaghosha (*Fo-sho*, ver. 2123) derives the name of this person from *a+niruddha* not-stopped, in agreement with the Tibetan *ma hgaespa*, celui qui n'a pas été arrêté (*Lotus*, p. 293); *As. Res.* vol. xx. p. 440). Conf. Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.

<sup>105</sup> In the picture alluded to above (n. 97) there is a representation of Anuruddha or Aniruddha conducting Mahamaya from heaven to the scene of the *Nirvana*.

<sup>106</sup> That is, she fainted.

<sup>107</sup> That is, those who have no reverence for parents. This incident, which is a late invention, would recommend itself to Hiuen Tsiang as in agreement with the customs of his country, where the highest reverence of parents is inculcated.

<sup>108</sup> The Ajitavati or Hiranyavati.

yellow, from a mixture of earth and charcoal. Whoever with true faith seeks here, and prays, is sure to find some relics of Tathagata.

When Tathagata died, men and Devas, moved with love, prepared a coffin made of the seven precious substances, and in a thousand napkins swathed his body; they spread both flowers and scents, they placed both canopies and coverings over it; then the host of Mallas raised the bier and forward marched, with others following and leading on. Passing the golden river (Kin-ho) to the north, they filled the coffin up with scented oil, and piled high up the odorous wood and kindled it. Then, after all was burnt, there were two napkins left—one that lay next the body, the other from the outside covering. Then they divided *sariras* for the world's sake, the hair and nails alone remained untouched by fire. By the side of the place of cremation is a *stupa*; here Tathagata, for Kasyapa's sake, revealed his feet. When Tathagata was in his golden coffin, and the oil poured on it and the wood piled up, the fire would not enkindle. When all the beholders were filled with fear and doubt, Aniruddha spoke, "We must await Kasyapa."

At this time Kasyapa, with 500 followers from out the forest, came to Kusinagara, and asked Ananda saying, "Can I behold Tathagata's body?" Ananda said, "Swathed in a thousand napkins, enclosed within a heavy coffin, with scented wood piled up, we are about to burn it."

At this time Buddha caused his feet to come from out the coffin. Above (*or, on*) the wheel sign<sup>109</sup> lo! there were different coloured marks. Addressing Anand then, he said, "And what are these?" Answering he said, "When first he died the tears of men and gods, moved by pity, falling upon his feet, left these marks."<sup>110</sup>

Then Kasyapa worshipped and walked round the coffin uttering his praises. Then the scented wood caught fire of its own accord, and burnt the whole with a great conflagration.

When Tathagata died he appeared three times from his coffin: first, when he put out his arm and asked Ananda, "(Have you) prepared the way?"<sup>111</sup> secondly, when he sat up and preached the law for his mother's sake; and thirdly, when he showed his feet to the great Kasyapa.

By the side of the place where he showed his feet is a

<sup>109</sup> *Lun siang*; see *anīe*, vol. I.

<sup>110</sup> In the *Vinaya* it is stated that these marks were made by the tears of a woman who wept at his feet. See *Abstract of Four Lectures*, pp. 69, 82.

<sup>111</sup> This is the literal translation; but it probably refers to Kasyapa, as Julien explains (*infra*); or the word *che* may be equal to "the chief," alluding to Kasyapa; the sentence would then be, "has the chief arrived?"

*stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*. This is the place where the eight kings shared the relics. In front is built a stone pillar on which is written an account of this event.

When Buddha died, and after his cremation, the kings of the eight countries with their troops (*four kinds of troops*) sent a right-minded Brahman (Drona)<sup>112</sup> to address the Mallas of Kusinagara, saying, "The guide of men and gods has died in his country; we have come from far to request a share of his relics." The Mallas said, "Tathagata has condescended to come to this land; the guide of the world is dead! the loving father of all that lives has gone! We ought to adore the relics of Buddha; your journey here has been in vain, you will not gain your end." Then the great kings having sought humbly for them and failed, sent a second message: "As you will not accede to our request, our troops are near." Then the Brahman addressing them said, "Reflect how the Lord, the great merciful, prepared religious merit by practising patience; through successive ages his renown will last. Your desire now to try force is not right. Divide then the relics into eight portions, so that all may worship them. Why resort to arms?"<sup>113</sup> The Mallas, obedient to these words, divided the relics into eight parts.

Then Sakra the king of gods said, "The Devas also should have a share; dispute not their right."

Anavatapta<sup>114</sup> the Naga also, and Muchilinda (Wen-lin), and Elapatra (I-lo-po-ta-lo) also, deliberated and said, "We ought not to be left without a bequest; if we seek it by force it will not be well for you!" The Brahman said, "Dispute not so!" Then he divided the relics into three portions, one for the Devas, one for the Nagas, and one remnant for the eight kingdoms among men. This addition of devas and Nagas in sharing the relics was a source of great sorrow to the kings of men.<sup>115</sup>

To the southwest of the relic-dividing *stupa*, going 200 li or so, we come to a great village; here lived a Brahman of eminent wealth and celebrity, deeply learned in all pure literature, versed in the five *Vidyas*,<sup>116</sup> acquainted with the three treasures (*pitakas*).

<sup>112</sup> This name is given in the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2231. The phrase *chi sing* means "right minded," or "impartial"; it may possibly be a proper name (Rijubhava), as Julien supposes.

<sup>113</sup> The argument of the Brahman is given in full by Asvaghosha, *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, pp. 328, 329.

<sup>114</sup> In Tibetan Ma-dros-pa, the king of the Nagas (snakes) of the lake of the same name. See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx. p. 448.

<sup>115</sup> Julien's translation can hardly be correct; "the eight kings having obtained a double portion, the gods, the nagas, and the kings of men grieved much on that account." The eight kings did not, in fact, obtain a double portion. The translation is evidently *chung fen*, "the additional division," *tin lung*, "among Devas and Nagas," *jin wang mo puh pi*, "the kings of men were much grieved." That is, the relics were carried away from the world, and this caused the sorrow.

<sup>116</sup> See *ante*, vol. i.



By the side of his home he had built a priest's house, and had used all his wealth to adorn it with magnificence. If by chance any priests in their travels stopped on their way, he asked them to halt, and used all his means to entertain them. They might stop one night, or even throughout seven days.

After this, Sasanka-*raja* having destroyed the religion of Buddha, the members of the priesthood were dispersed, and for many years driven away. The Brahman nevertheless retained for them, through all, an undying regard. As he was walking he chanced to see a Sramana, with thick eyebrows and shaven head, holding his staff, coming along. The Brahman hurried up to him, and meeting him asked, "Whence come you?" and besought to enter the priest's abode and receive his charity. In the morning he gave him some rice-milk (*rice balls with milk*). The Sramana having taken a mouthful, thereupon returned it (*i.e. the rest*) to his alms-bowl with a great sigh. The Brahman who supplied the food prostrating himself said, "Eminent sir! (*bhadanta*), is there any reason why you should not remain with me one night? is not the food agreeable?" The Sramana graciously answering said, "I pity the feeble merit possessed by the world, but let me finish my meal and I will speak to you further." After finishing his food he gathered up his robes as if to go. The Brahman said, "Your reverence agreed to speak with me, why then are you silent?" The Sramana said, "I have not forgotten; but to talk with you is irksome; and the circumstance is likely to create doubt, but yet I will tell you in brief. When I sighed, it was not on account of your offering of rice; for during many hundreds of years I have not tasted such food. When Tathagata was living in the world I was a follower of his when he dwelt in the Venuvana-vihara, near Rajagriha (Ho-lo-she-ki-li-hi);<sup>117</sup> there it was, stooping down, I washed his *patra* in the pure stream of the river—there I filled his pitcher—there I gave him water for cleansing his mouth; but alas! the milk you now offer is not like the sweet water of old! It is because the religious merit of Devas and men has diminished that this is the case!" The Brahman then said, "Is it possible that you yourself have ever seen Buddha?" The Sramana replied, "Have you never heard of Rahula, Buddha's own son? I am he! Because I desire to protect the true law I have not yet entered *Nirvana*."

Having spoken thus he suddenly disappeared. Then the Brahman swept and watered the chamber he had used, and placed there a figure of him, which he revered as though he were present.

Going 500 li through the great forest we come to the kingdom of P'o-lo-ni-sse (Banaras).

<sup>117</sup> In Chinese, Wang-she-ch'ing.

## BOOK VII

*Includes the following countries, (1) P'o-lo-ni-sse; (2) Chen-chu; (3) Fei-she-li; (4) Fo-li-shi; (5) Ni-po-lo.*

### P'O-LO-NI-SSE [VARANASI<sup>1</sup> OR BANARAS]

This country is about 4,000 li in circuit. The capital borders (on its western side) the Ganges river. It is about 18 or 19 li in length and 5 or 6 li in breadth; its inner gates are like a small-toothed comb; <sup>2</sup> it is densely populated. The families are very rich, and in the dwellings are objects of rare value. The disposition of the people is soft and humane, and they are earnestly given to study. They are mostly unbelievers, a few reverence the law of Buddha. The climate is soft, the crops abundant, the trees (fruit trees) flourishing, and the underwood thick in every place. There are about thirty *sangharamas* and 3,000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school (Ching-liang-pu). There are a hundred or so Deva temples with about 10,000 sectaries. They honour principally Mahesvara (Ta-tseu-tsai). Some cut their hair off, others tie their hair in a knot, and go naked, without clothes (Nirgranthas); they cover their bodies with ashes (Pasupatas), and by the practice of all sorts of austerities they seek to escape from birth<sup>3</sup> and death.

In the capital there are twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured stone and carved wood. The foliage of trees combine to shade (the sites), whilst pure streams of water encircle them. The statue of the Deva Mahesvara, made of *teou-shih* (native copper), is somewhat less than 100 feet high. Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living.

To the north-east of the capital, on the western side of the river Varana, is a *stupa*<sup>4</sup> built by Asoka-raja (Wu-yau) It is

<sup>1</sup> This is the restoration of the Chinese equivalents. A note in the original gives the sound of *ni* as=*n* (*iu*)+(*he*) *a*, i.e., *na*; the restoration, therefore, is Varanasi, the Sanskrit form of the name of Banaras. It was so called because it lies between the two streams Varana and Asi or Asī, affluents of the Ganges. See Sherring, *Sacred City of the Hindus*.

<sup>2</sup> Julien gives here, "the villages are very close together"; but, as noticed before, the Chinese symbols *leu yen* mean "the inner gates" of a city, and the expression *tsch pi* means "like a tooth comb." I conclude it means that the inner gates of the city consisted of closely joined, and perhaps sharpened, iron or other bars.

<sup>3</sup> Not "life and death," but "birth and death"; i.e., to arrive at a condition of uninterrupted life.

<sup>4</sup> Julien here gives *Po-lo-ni-sse* by mistake, it should be *Po-lo-ni* (read *na*), referring to the Varana or Barana (see Dr. Fitzedward Hall's remarks in the Introduction to Sherring's *Sacred City of the Hindus*; also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 436 n.



about 100 feet high; in front of it is a stone pillar; it is bright and shining as a mirror; its surface is glistening and smooth as ice, and on it can be constantly seen the figure of Buddha as a shadow.

To the north-east of the river Varana about 10 li or so, we come to the *sangharama* of *Lu-ye* (*Stag desert*).<sup>5</sup> Its precincts are divided into eight portions (*sections*),<sup>6</sup> connected by a surrounding wall. The storeyed towers with projecting eaves and the balconies are of very superior work. There are fifteen hundred priests in this convent who study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. In the great enclosure is a *vihara* about 200 feet high, above the roof is a golden-covered figure of the Amra (*An-mo-lo*—mango) fruit. The foundations of the building are of stone, and the stairs also, but the towers and niches are of brick. The niches are arranged on the four sides in a hundred successive lines, and in each niche is a golden figure of Buddha. In the middle of the *vihara* is a figure of Buddha made of *teou-shih* (*native copper*). It is the size of life, and he is represented as turning the wheel of the law (*preaching*).<sup>7</sup>

To the south-west of the *vihara* is a stone *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*. Although the foundations have given way, there are still 100 feet or more of the wall remaining. In front of the building is a stone pillar about 70 feet high. The stone is altogether as bright as jade. It is glistening, and sparkles like light; and all those who pray fervently before it see from time to time, according to their petitions, figures with good or bad signs. It was here that Tathagata (*ju-lai*), having arrived at enlightenment, began to turn the wheel of the law (*to preach*).

By the side of this building and not far from it is a *stupa*. This is the spot where Ajnata Kaundinya (*O-jo-kio-ch'in-ju*) and the rest, seeing Bodhisattava giving up his austerities, no longer kept his company, but coming to this place, gave themselves up to meditation.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The same as *Mrigadava*, generally called *Lu-yuen*, "the deer garden." This is the spot where Buddha preached his first sermon to the five mendicants. For an account of his march to Banaras and the sermon he preached see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, *varga* 15.

<sup>6</sup> Probably meaning that the enclosure was an octagon, as the great tower of Dhamek was (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 111).

<sup>7</sup> The wheel is the symbol of "preaching," or of *dharma*. The scene of Buddha's teaching near Banaras is the district called Sarnath, which according to Cunningham, is a contraction of Saranganatha, *lord of deer*. Buddha himself was once the "king of deer," and this may be the origin of the name. For an account of the excavations made on this spot see *Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 107 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The five ascetics who had accompanied the Bodhisattva to Uravilva, and fasted with him for six years, when they saw him receive the rice milk of Nanda, supposing he had given up the object of his religious life, left him, and came to the deer park at Banaras.

By the side of this is a *stupa* where five hundred Pratyeka Buddhas entered at the same time into *Nirvana*. There are, moreover, three *stupas* where there are traces of the sitting and walking of the three former Buddhas.

By the side of this last place is a *stupa*. This is the spot where Maitreya Bodhisattva received assurance of his becoming a Buddha. In old days, when Tathagata was living in Rajagriha (Wang-she), on the Gridhrakuta, mountain,<sup>9</sup> he spoke thus to the Bhikshus: "In future years, when this country of Jambudvīpa shall be at peace and rest, and the age of men shall amount to 80,000 years, there shall be a Brahman called Maitreya (*Sse-che*). His body shall be of the colour of pure gold, bright and glistening and pure. Leaving his home, he will become a perfect Buddha, and preach the threefold<sup>10</sup> law for the benefit of all creatures. Those who shall be saved are those who live, in whom the roots of merit have been planted through my bequeathed law.<sup>11</sup> These all conceiving in their minds a profound respect for the three precious objects of worship, whether they be already professed disciples or not, whether they be obedient to the precepts or not, will all be led by the converting power (*of his preaching*) to acquire the fruit (*of Bodhi*) and final deliverance. Whilst declaring the threefold law for the conversion of those who have been influenced by my bequeathed law, by this means also hereafter others will be converted."<sup>12</sup>

At this time Maitreya Bodhisattva (*Mei-ta-li-ye-pu-sa*) hearing this declaration of Buddha, rose from his seat and addressed Buddha thus: "May I indeed become that lord called Maitreya." Then Tathagata spoke thus: "Be it so! you shall obtain this fruit (*condition*), and as I have just explained, such shall be the power (*influence*) of your teaching."

<sup>9</sup> The "Peak of the Vulture," near Rajagriha.

<sup>10</sup> Julien translates this by "three great assemblies." It is true *hwuy* means "an assembly," but in this passage *san hwuy* refers to the law "thrice repeated." Hence it is said to be "a triple twelve-part trustworthy knowledge of the four truths" (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 129 and note. Compare also the phrase *tikutiko chakamo* in the Bharhut sculptures, pl. xxviii, the meaning of which has escaped General Cunningham. B. Nanjio, also, in his *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, pp. 9, 10, has not noticed that the Chinese symbol *hwui* corresponds with the Sanskrit *kuta*, and so has translated the phrase as though it referred to "an assembly."

<sup>11</sup> That is, those who shall be saved by the preaching of Maitreya are those in whose hearts my bequeathed law shall have worked the necessary preparation.

<sup>12</sup> The same influence, *i.e.*, of Maitreya's teaching, will act as a "good friend" for their subsequent conversion. The expression "*shen yau*," "illustrious friend," refers to the guidance of *Bodhi*, or wisdom. There is some difficulty in understanding how this assurance could have been given to Maitreya whilst Buddha was on the Gridhrakuta mountain, and yet that the spot should be at Banaras, unless, indeed, it was repeated there.

To the west of this place there is a *stupa*. This is the spot where Sakya Bodhisattva (Shih-kia-pu-sa) received an assurance (*of becoming a Buddha*). In the midst of the Bhadra-kalpa when men's years amounted to 20,000, Kasyapa Buddha (Kia-she-po-fo) appeared in the world and moved the wheel of the excellent law (*i.e., preached the law*), opened out and changed the unclosed mind (*of men*), and declared this prediction to Prabhapala Bodhisattva (Hu-ming-pu-sa).<sup>13</sup> "This Bodhisattva in future ages, when the years of men shall have dwindled to 100 years, shall obtain the condition of a Buddha and be called Sakya Muni."

Not far to the south of this spot are traces where the four Buddhas of a bygone age walked for exercise. The length (*of the promenade*) is about fifty paces and the height of the steps (*stepping spots*) about seven feet. It is composed of blue stones piled together. Above it is a figure of Tathagata in the attitude of walking. It is of a singular dignity and beauty. From the flesh-knot on the top of the head there flows wonderfully a braid of hair. Spiritual signs are plainly manifested and divine prodigies wrought with power (*fineness, eclat*).

Within the precincts of the enclosure (*of the sangharama*)<sup>14</sup> there are many sacred vestiges, with *viharas* and *stupas* several hundred in number. We have only named two or three of these, as it would be difficult to enter into details.

To the west of the *sangharama* enclosure is a clear lake of water about 200 paces in circuit; here Tathagata occasionally bathed himself. To the west of this is a great tank about 180 paces round; here Tathagata used to wash his begging-dish.

To the north of this is a lake about 150 paces round. Here Tathagata used to wash his robes. In each of these pools is a dragon who dwells within it. The water is deep and its taste sweet; it is pure and resplendent in appearance, and neither increases nor decreases. When men of a bad character bathe here, the crocodiles (*kin-pi-lo,—kumbhiras*) come forth and kill many of them; but in case of the reverential who wash here, they need fear nothing.

By the side of the pool where Tathagata washed his garments is a great square stone, on which are yet to be seen the trace-marks of his *koshaya* (*kia-sha*) robe. The bright lines of the tissue are of a minute and distinct character, as if carved on the stone. The faithful and pure frequently come to make their offerings here; but when the heretics and men of evil mind

<sup>13</sup> Julien translates "and received from Prabhapala Bodhisattva the prediction following." But this would destroy the connection of the sentence; it is Kasyapa Buddha who declares to Prabhapala that he (Prabhapala) shall become a Buddha. See Wong Puh (*J. R. As. S.*, vol. xx. p. 139), §§ 4, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Or of the "deer park," the modern Sarnath.

speak lightly of or insult the stone, the dragon-king inhabiting the pool causes the winds to rise and rain to fall.

By the side of the lake, and not far off, is a *stupa*. This is where Bodhisattva, during his preparatory life, was born as a king of elephants, provided with six tusks (*chhadanta*).<sup>15</sup> A hunter, desirous to obtain the tusks, put on a robe in colour like that of a religious ascetic, and taking his bow, awaited the arrival of prey. The elephant king, from respect to the *kashaya* robe, immediately broke off his tusks and gave them to the hunter.

By the side of this spot, and not far from it, is a *stupa*. It was here Bodhisattva, in his preparatory career, grieved to see that there was little politeness (*reverence*) amongst men, took the form of a bird, and joining himself to the company of a monkey and a white elephant, he asked them in this place, "Which of you saw first this Nyagrodha (*Ni-ka-liu*) tree?" Each having answered according to circumstances, he placed them according to their age.<sup>16</sup> The good effects of this conduct spread itself little by little on every side; men were able to distinguish the high from the low, and the religious and lay people followed their example.

Not far from this, in a great forest, is a *stupa*. It was here that Devadatta and Bodhisattava, in years gone by, were kings of deer and settle a certain matter. Formerly in this place, in the midst of a great forest, there were two herds of deer, each 500 in number. At this time the king of the country wandered about hunting through the plains and morasses. Bodhisattva, king of deer, approaching him, said, "Maharaja! you set fire to the spaces enclosed as your hunting-ground, and shoot your arrows and kill all my followers. Before the sun rises they lie about corrupting and unfit for food. Pray let us each day offer you one deer for food, which the king will then have fresh and good, and we shall prolong our life a little day by day." The king was pleased at the proposition, and turned his chariot and went back home. So on each day a deer from the respective flocks was killed.

Now among the herd of Devadatta there was a doe big with young, and when her turn came to die she said to her lord, "Although I am ready to die, yet it is not my child's turn."

<sup>15</sup> Chhadanta, which seems to mean six-tusked, according to Siamese legend, is the name of an elephant living in a golden palace on the shores of the Himālayan lake Chatthan, attended by eighty thousand ordinary elephants.—Alabaster, *Wheel of the Law*, p. 305; conf. Sp. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 178; *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 17; Mahawanso (Turnour's trans.), pp. 22, 134; Upham, *Sac. and Hist. Books*, vol. iii. p. 269; Burgess, *Reports, Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, vol. iv. pp. 45, 46; Cunningham, *Bharhut Stupa*, pp. 62, 63; Beal, *Rom. Leg. Bud.*, p. 367.

<sup>16</sup> Here I follow Julien's translation, but there is probably an error in the text.

The king of the deer (*i.e.*, Devadatta) was angry, and said, "Who is there but values life?"

The deer answered with a sigh, "But, O king, it is not humane to kill that which is unborn."<sup>17</sup>

She then told her extremity to Bodhisattva, the king of deer. He replied, "Sad indeed; the heart of the loving mother grieves (*is moved*) for that which is not yet alive (*has no body*). I to-day will take your place and die."

Going to the royal gate (*i.e.* the palace), the people who travelled along the road passed the news along and said in a loud voice, "That great king of the deer is going now towards the town." The people of the capital, the magistrates, and others, hastened to see.

The king hearing of it, was unwilling to believe the news; but when the gate-keeper assured him of the truth, then the king believed it. Then, addressing the deer-king he said, "Why have you come here?"

The deer-king replied, "There is a female in the herd big with young, whose turn it was to die; but my heart could not bear to think that the young, not yet born, should perish so. I have therefore come in her place."

The king, hearing it, sighed and said, "I have indeed the body of a man, but am as a deer. You have the body of a deer, but are as a man." Then for pity's sake he released the deer, and no longer required a daily sacrifice. Then he gave up that forest for the use of the deer, and so it was called "the forest given to the deer,"<sup>18</sup> and hence its name, the "deer-plain" (*or*, wild).

Leaving this place, and going 2 or 3 li to the southwest of the *sangharama*, there is a *stupa* about 300 feet high. The foundations are broad and the building high, and adorned with all sorts of carved work and with precious substances. There are no successive stages (*to this building*) with niches; and although there is a standing pole erected above the cupola (*fau poh*<sup>19</sup>), yet it has no encircling bells.<sup>20</sup> By the side of it is a little *stupa*. This is the spot where Ajnata Kaundinya and the

<sup>17</sup> This may be translated otherwise: "Our king is not humane in putting to death without reprieve"; or, "Our king is not humane; I die without reprieve."

<sup>18</sup> Commonly called the Mrigdava. This is the site referred to before, —the present Sarnath or Saranganatha.

<sup>19</sup> Julien translates this "a sort of vase belonging to a religious person, inverted"; but I take *fau poh* to mean the cupola of a *stupa*, in agreement with the account given above, note 163.

<sup>20</sup> *Lun-to*, circular bells, or encircling bells, referring to the circular plates with bells generally attached to the surmounting pole of a *stupa*. Julien translates, "it is not crowned with a cupola in form like a bell." This seems to be impossible, as it is before stated that the *stupa* was surmounted by a pole.

other men, five in number, declined to rise to salute Buddha<sup>21</sup> When first Sarvarthasiddha (Sa-p'o-ho-la-t'a-si-to<sup>22</sup>) left the city to sojourn in the mountains and to hide in the valleys, forgetful of self and mindful of religion, the Suddhodana-raja (Tsing-fan) commanded three persons of his own tribe and household, and two of his maternal uncles, saying, "My son Sarvarthasiddha has left his home to practise wisdom; alone he wanders through mountains and plains and lives apart in the forests. I order you, therefore, to follow him and find out where he dwells. You within (*the family*), his uncles, and you without (*the family*), ministers and people, exert yourselves diligently to find out where he has gone to live." The five men, after receiving the order, went together, casting along the outposts of the country. And now, during their earnest search, the thought of leaving their homes occurred to them also,<sup>23</sup> and so they thus spoke one to the other: "Is it by painful discipline or by joyful means we attain to supreme wisdom?" Two of them said, "By rest and by pleasant discipline wisdom is obtained." Three of them said, "It is by painful discipline." Whilst they yet contended without agreeing, two to three, the prince had already entered on the painful discipline of the unbelievers, considering this to be the true way to overcome sorrow; and so, like them, he took only a few grains of rice and millet to support his body.

The two men seeing him thus, said, "This discipline of the prince is opposed to the true way (*of escape*); intelligence is obtained by agreeable methods, but now he is practising severe discipline, he cannot be our companion." So they departed far off and lived in seclusion under the idea that they would (*in their own way*) attain the fruit (*of enlightenment*). The prince having practised austerities for six years<sup>24</sup> without obtaining *Bodhi*, desired to give up his rigorous discipline, as being contrary to the truth; he then prepared himself to receive the rice-milk (*offered by the girl*), with a view, by this method, to

<sup>21</sup> For an account of this incident see the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, vv. 1222, 1223. For the origin of Ajnata Kaundinya's (O'jo-kiao-ch'in-ju) name see *op. cit.* v. 1268.

<sup>22</sup> This was the name given to Bodhisattva by his parents. It is explained to mean "one by whom all objects are effected" (Monier Williams, *Sans. Dict.*, sub voc. *Sarva*). In Chinese it is translated into "Yih-tsai-i-shing," which seems to signify "one who is perfected in all ways," or "the completely perfect."

<sup>23</sup> Such appears to be the force of the passage, as though the five men by their long search for the prince had become accustomed to a solitary life, and so were unwilling to return home.

<sup>24</sup> The period of mortification is lengthened to seven years in the Southern accounts, or rather that Mara pursued the Bodhisattva for seven years up to the last vain attack he made upon him. See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 420, Eng. trans. It is probably that the seven years' torture said to have been undergone by St. George, and the legend generally, is borrowed from the story of Bodhisattva.



obtain enlightenment.<sup>25</sup> Then the three men (*who advocated penance*) hearing thereof, sighed and said, "His merit was just ripening, and now it is all dissipated! For six years enduring penance, and now in a day to lose all his merit!" On this they went together to seek for and consult with the two men. Having met them, they sat down and entered on an excited conversation. Then they spoke together thus: "In old days we saw the Prince Sarvarthasiddha leave the royal palace for the desert valleys; he put off his jewels and robes, and assumed the skin double (*of the hunter*), and then, with all his might and determined will, gave himself to austerities to seek after the deep mysterious law and its perfect fruit. And now, having given all up, he has received the rice-milk of the young shepherd-girl, and ruined his purpose. We know now he can do nothing."

The two men replied, "How is it, my masters, ye have seen this so late, that this man acts as a madman? When he lived in his palace he was revered and powerful; but he was not able to rest in quiet, and so went wandering far off through mountains and woods, giving up the estate of a *Chakravartin* monarch to lead the life of an abject and outcast. What need we think about him more? the mention of his name but adds sorrow to sorrow."

And now Bodhisattva, having bathed in the Nairanjana river, seated himself under the *Bodhi* tree and perfected himself in supreme wisdom, and was named "The lord of devas and men." Then reflecting in silence, he thought who was worthy (*fit*) to be instructed in the way of deliverance—"The son of Rama, Udra by name (*Yo-t'eu-lan*), he is fit to receive the excellent law, as he has reached the *Samadhi*, which admits of no active thought."<sup>26</sup>

Then the Devas in space raised their voices and said, "Udra-Ramaputra has been dead for seven days." Then Tathagata sighing (*said*) with regret, "Why did we not meet? ready as he was to hear the excellent law and thereby to obtain quick conversion!"

Again he gave himself to consideration, and cast about through the world to seek (*for some one to whom he might first preach*). There is (*he thought*) Arada Kalama (*O-lankia-lan*) who has reached the ecstatic point "of having nothing to

<sup>25</sup> Julien has translated this passage as if it were spoken by "the two men" who were opposed to severe mortification as a method of religious discipline. But this necessitates the prediction that he would receive enlightenment after receiving the rice-milk, "Mais quand il aura reçu une bouillie de riz au lait, il obtiendra l'intelligence" (p. 365). This is highly improbable, and I have therefore translated it as in the text.

<sup>26</sup> *Naivasanjna samadhi* (Jul.). The theory of Udra-Ramaputra (*Yvu-tau-tan-tseu*) with respect to final deliverance is explained in the twelfth *varga* of the *Fo-sho-hing-tan-king*. His system appears to have been a refinement on that of Kapila.

obtain ;<sup>27</sup> he is fit to receive the highest reason. Then again the Devas said, "He has been dead for five<sup>28</sup> days."

Again Tathagata sighed, in knowledge of his incompleted merit. Once more considering who was worthy to receive his instruction, he remembered that in the "deer park" there were the five men,<sup>29</sup> who might first receive the converting doctrine. Then Tathagata, rising from the *Bodhi* tree, went forward with measured step<sup>30</sup> and dignified mien to the "deer-park garden," shining with glory ; his (*circle of*) hair<sup>31</sup> reflecting its brilliant colours, and his body like gold. Gracefully he advanced to teach those five men. They, on their parts, seeing him afar off, said one to another,<sup>32</sup> "Here comes that Sarvarthasiddha ; for years and months he has sought for the sacred fruit, and has not obtained it, and now his mind is relaxed, and so he comes to seek us as disciples (*or*, to seek our company ; let us remain silent, and not rise to meet him or pay him respect."

Tathagata gradually approaching, his sacred appearance affecting all creatures, the five men, forgetting their vow, rose and saluted him, and then attached themselves to him with respect. Tathagata gradually instructed them in the excellent principles (*of his religion*), and when the double<sup>33</sup> season of rest was finished, they had obtained the fruit (*of Bodhi*).

To the east of the "deer forest" 2 or 3 li, we come to a *stupa* by the side of which is a dry pool about 80 paces in circuit, on name of which is "saving life,"<sup>34</sup> another name is "ardent master." The old traditions explain it thus: Many hundred years ago there was a solitary sage (*a sorrowful or obscure master*) who built by the side of this pool a hut to live in, away from the world. He practised the arts of magic, and by the extremest exercise of his spiritual power he could change broken fragments of bricks into precious stones, and could also metamorphose both men and animals into others shapes, but he was

<sup>27</sup> *Akinchavyayatana*—(Julien).

<sup>28</sup> In the *Lalita Vistara* the number of days is *three*. In the *Buddha-charita* there is no period named.

<sup>29</sup> That is, the *Mrigadava* (Sarnath), at Banaras.

<sup>30</sup> "Step by step, like the king of beasts (the lion), did he advance watchfully through the grove of wisdom."—*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1199.

<sup>31</sup> That is, the circle of hair between his eyes (the *urna*).

<sup>32</sup> According to the *Buddha-charita*, vv. 1220, 1221, the five men were named Kaundinya, Dasabala-Kasyapa, Vaspa, Asvajit, Bhadraka. The *Lalita Vistara* gives Mahanama instead of Dasabala. For the incident named in the text see *Buddha-charita*, loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup> That is, the season of rain, during which the disciples retired into fixed homes. But this ordinance was not yet introduced into the Buddhist system ; it seems to have been a custom, however, among religious communities before Buddha's time, for in the *Vinaya* complaint is made to Buddha that his disciples continued to wander through the country when the seeds were first growing, contrary to the ordinary rule.

<sup>34</sup> There is no expression for "pool," as in the French translation.



not yet able to ride upon the winds and the clouds, and to follow the Rishis in mounting upwards. By inspecting figures and names that had come down from of old, he further sought into the secret arts of the Rishis. From these he learned the following: "The spirit-Rishis are they who possess the art of lengthening life."<sup>35</sup> If you wish to acquire this knowledge, first of all you must fix your mind on this—viz., to build up an altar enclosure 10 feet round; then command an 'ardent master' (*a hero*), faithful and brave, and with clear intent, to hold in his hand a long sword and take his seat at the corner of the altar, to cover his breath, and remain silent from evening till dawn.<sup>36</sup> He who seeks to be a Rishi must sit in the middle of the altar, and, grasping a long knife, must repeat the magic formulæ and keep watch (*seeing and hearing*). At morning light, attaining the condition of a Rishi, the sharp knife he holds will change into a sword of diamond (*a gem-sword*), and he will mount into the air and march through space, and rule over the band of Rishis. Waving the sword he holds, everything he wishes will be accomplished, and he will know neither decay nor old age, nor disease nor death."<sup>37</sup> The man having thus obtained the method (*of becoming a Rishi*), went in search of such an "ardent master." Diligently he searched for many years, but as yet he found not the object of his desires. At length, in a certain town he encountered a man piteously wailing as he went along the way. The solitary master seeing his marks (*the marks on his person*),<sup>38</sup> was rejoiced at heart, and forthwith approaching him, he inquired, "Why do you go thus lamenting, and why are you so distressed?" He said, "I was a poor and needy man, and had to labour hard to support myself. A certain master seeing this, and knowing me to be entirely trustworthy, used me (*engaged me for his work*) during five years, promising to pay me well for my pains. On this I patiently wrought in spite of weariness and difficulties. Just as the five years were done, one

<sup>35</sup> The magic art of lengthening life, or of a long life. The "elixir of life" and the art of transmuting metals had been sought after in the East long before the Arabs introduced the study of alchemy into Europe. The philosopher's stone is the *tan sha* of the Chinese, i.e., the red bisulphuret of mercury, or cinnabar. See an article on *Tauism* in the *Trans. of the China Branch of the R.A.S.*, part v. 1855, by Dr. Edkins, p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> We may compare with this the ceremonies observed anciently on conferring the dignity of knighthood, especially the vigil before the altar. (Ingulphus, quoted by Thoms in his *Book of the Court*, p. 138).

<sup>37</sup> The account of this magic gem-sword may be compared with the "great brand, excalibur," of King Arthur—

"But 'ere he dipt the surface, rose an arm  
Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,  
And caught him by the hilt, and brandished him  
Three times..." —Tennyson.

<sup>38</sup> *Siang*, the marks indicating his noble character.

morning for some little fault I was cruelly whipped and driven away without a farthing. For this cause I am sad at heart and afflicted. Oh, who will pity me?"

The solitary master ordered him to accompany him, and coming to his cabin (*wood hut*) by his magic power he caused to appear some choice food, and ordered him to enter the pool and wash. Then he clothed him in new garments, and giving him 500 gold pieces, he dismissed him, saying, "When this is done, come and ask for more without fear."<sup>39</sup> After this he frequently bestowed on him more gifts, and in secret did him other good, so that his heart was filled with gratitude. Then the "ardent master" was ready to lay down his life in return for all the kindness he had received. Knowing this, the other said to him, "I am in need of an enthusiastic person."<sup>40</sup> During a succession of years I sought for one, till I was fortunate enough to meet with you, possessed of rare beauty and a becoming presence, different from others.<sup>41</sup> Now, therefore, I pray you, during one night (*to watch*) without speaking a word."

The champion said, "I am ready to die for you, much more to sit with my breath covered."<sup>42</sup> Whereupon he constructed an altar and undertook the rules for becoming a Rishi, according to the prescribed form. Sitting down, he awaited the night. At the approach of night each attended to his particular duties. The "solitary master" recited his magic prayers; the champion held his sharp sword in his hand. About dawn suddenly he uttered a short cry, and at the same time fire descended from heaven, and flames and smoke arose on every side like clouds. The "solitary master" at once drew the champion into the lake,<sup>43</sup> and having saved him from his danger, he said, "I bound you to silence; why then did you cry out?"

The champion said, "After receiving your orders, towards the middle of the night, darkly, as in a dream, the scene changed, and I saw rise before me all my past history. My master<sup>44</sup> in his own person came to me, and in consolatory words addressed me; overcome with gratitude, I yet restrained myself and spoke

<sup>39</sup> *Wu-wai* may also mean "seek it not elsewhere." Julien translates it "do not despise me."

<sup>40</sup> "A brave champion"—Julien.

<sup>41</sup> So I translate the passage, but it may be "your beauty (or figure) corresponds to the ideal portrait I had formed of it." So Julien translates; but *fi yau ta* would more naturally be rendered "unlike that of any other."

<sup>42</sup> From this it seems that the portion relating to "holding the breath" is omitted in the previous sentence.

<sup>43</sup> That is, to escape the fire.

<sup>44</sup> That is, "my lord or master, whom I now serve"—the solitary master or Rishi. It cannot be my old master, the one who treated him so cruelly (as Julien construes it), for he comes on the scene in the next sentence. The symbols *sih sse* are not to be taken with *chu*, as though it were "my old master"; but with *kin*, as I have translated it, "there arose before me the former events of my life."

not. Then that other man came before me ; towering with rage, he slew me, and I received my ghostly body<sup>45</sup> (*I wandered as a shade or shadowy body*). I beheld myself dead, and I sighed with pain, but yet I vowed through endless ages not to speak, in gratitude to you. Next I saw myself destined to be born in a great Brahman's house in Southern India, and I felt my time come to be conceived and to be brought forth. Though all along enduring anguish, yet from gratitude to you no sound escaped me. After a while I entered on my studies, took the cap (*of manhood*), and I married ; my parents dead, I had a child. Each day I thought of all your kindness, and endured in silence, uttering no word. My household connections and clan relatives all seeing this, were filled with shame. For more than sixty years and five I lived. At length my wife addressed me, 'You must speak ; if not, I slay your son !' And then I thought, 'I can beget no other child, for I am old and feeble ; this is my only tender son.' It was to stop my wife from killing him I raised the cry."

The "Solitary master" said, "All was my fault ; 'twas the fascination of the devil."<sup>46</sup> The champion, moved with gratitude, and sad because the thing had failed, fretted himself and died. Because he escaped the calamity of fire, the lake is called "Saving the Life," and because he died overpowered by gratitude, it has its other name, "The Champion's Lake."

To the west of this lake there is a *stupa* of "the three animals." In this place, when Bodhisattava was practising his preparatory life, he burnt his own body. At the beginning of the kalpa in this forest wild there lived a fox, a hare, and a monkey, three creatures of different kinds but mutually affectionate. At this time Sakra, king of Devas, wishing to examine into the case of those practising the life of a Bodhisattva, descended spiritually in shape as an old man. He addressed the three animals thus: "My children, two or three,<sup>47</sup> are you at ease and without fear ?" They said, "We lie upon (*tread on*) the rich herbage, wander through the bosky brakes, and though

<sup>45</sup> This ghostly body or shade (*chung yin shan*) corresponds with the *eidolon* of the Greeks—

*psnkhe kai eidolon atar  
phrenes ouk eni pampan*

—*Iliad*, xxiii, 104

<sup>46</sup> Of Mara : it is plain that this weird story, taken in connection with the dream, the inability to move or speak, and the actual reference of it all to Mara, is but an account of "the enthusiastic hero's" suffering from "nightmare."

<sup>47</sup> There appears to be an error in the text, as though *san* (three) had been repeated, but the middle stroke of the first symbol erased. But as the same symbols are used in the next sentence, the meaning may be simply, "My children."

of different kinds we are agreed together, and are at rest and joyful." The old man said, "Hearing that you, my children, two or three, were peaceful at heart and living in sweet accord, though I am old, yet have I come from far alone, forgetting my infirmities, to visit you; but now I am pressed with hunger, what have you to offer me to eat?" They said, "Wait here awhile, and we will go ourselves in search of food." On this, with one mind and with single purpose, they searched through the different ways for food. The fox having skirted a river, drew out from thence a fresh carp fish. The monkey in the forest gathered fruits and flowers of different kinds. Then they came together to the appointed place and approached the old man. Only the hare came empty, after running to and fro both right and left. The old man spoke to him and said, "As it seems to me, you are not of one mind with the fox and monkey; each of those can minister to me heartily, but the hare alone comes empty, and gives me nought to eat; the truth of what I say can easily be known." The hare, hearing these words and moved by their power, addressed the fox and monkey thus, "Heap up a great pile of wood for burning, then I will give (*do*) something." The fox and monkey did accordingly; running here and there, they gathered grass and wood; they piled it up, and when it was thoroughly alight the hare spake thus: "Good sir! I am a small and feeble thing; it is difficult for me to obtain you food, but my poor body may perhaps provide a meal." On this he cast himself upon the fire, and forthwith died. Then the old man reassumed his body as King Sakra, collected all the bones, and after dolorous sighs addressed the fox and monkey thus: "He only could have done it (*or*, unprecedented event). I am deeply touched; and lest his memory should perish, I will place him in the moon's disc to dwell." Therefore through after ages all have said, "The hare is in the moon." After this event men built a *stupa* on the spot.<sup>48</sup>

Leaving this country and going down the Ganges eastward 300 li or so, we come to the country of Chen-chu.

#### THE KINGDOM OF CHEN-CHU<sup>49</sup> [GHAZIPUR]

This kingdom is about 2,000 li in circuit; its capital, which borders on the Ganges river, is about 10 li in circuit. The people are wealthy and prosperous; the town and villages are close together. The soil is rich and fertile, and the land is

<sup>48</sup> The preceding story is known as *The Hare Jataka*. It is given in Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*; it is found also in the Chinese *Jataka-book*; see also Fausboll, *Five Jatakas*, p. 58.

<sup>49</sup> Chen-chu, meaning "lord of conflict or battle," is the translation of Garjanapati, and has been identified by Cunningham with Ghazipur, a town on the Ganges just 50 miles east of Banaras. The original Hindu name of the place was Garjapur.

regularly cultivated. The climate is soft and temperate, and the manners of the people are pure and honest. The disposition of the men is naturally fierce and excitable; they are believers both in heretical and true doctrine. There are some ten *sangharamas* with less than 1,000 followers, who all study the doctrines of the Little Vehicle. There are twenty Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of different persuasions.

In a *sangharama* to the north-west of the capital is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*. The Indian tradition<sup>50</sup> says this *stupa* contains a peck of the relics of Tathagata. Formerly, when the Lord of the World dwelt in this place,<sup>51</sup> during seven days he preached the excellent law for the sake of an assembly of the Devas.

Beside this place are traces where the three Buddhas of the past age walked and where they sat.

Close by is an image of Maitreya Bodhisattva: although of small dimensions, its spiritual presence is great, and its divine power is exhibited from time to time in a mysterious manner.

Going east from the chief city about 200 li, we come to a *sangharama* called 'O-pi-t'o-kie-la-na ("Ears not pierced"—Aviddhakarna<sup>52</sup>). The circuit (*encircling wall*) is not great, but the ornamental work of the building is very artistic. The lakes reflect the surrounding flowers, and the eaves of the towers and pavilions (*or*, the tower-pavilions) touch one another in a continuous line. The priests are grave and decorous, and all their duties are properly attended to. The tradition states: Formerly there were two or three Sramanas, passionately fond of learning, who lived in the country of Tu-ho-lo<sup>53</sup> (Tukhara), to the north of the Snowy Mountains, and were of one mind. Each day during the intervals of worship and reciting the scriptures, they talked together in this way: "The excellent principles of religion are dark and mysterious, not to be fathomed in careless talk. The

<sup>50</sup> Or the work called *In-tu-ki*, i.e., the Records of India.

<sup>51</sup> Julien translates "in this convent," but the original names only "the place." It would be natural to suppose that Asoka built the *stupa*, and the *sangharama* was erected subsequently.

<sup>52</sup> The distance and bearing from Ghazipur given in the text would indicate Baliya as the site of this convent. There is a village called Bikapur, about one mile east of Baliya, which Cunningham thinks may be a corruption of Aviddhakarnapura. It may be the same *vihara* as that called "Desert" by Fa-hian (cap. xxxiv). But we can hardly accept Cunningham's restoration of *Kwang ye* (which simply means "wilderness" or "desert") to Vrihadaranya or Brihadaranya, which he thinks may have been corrupted into Biddhkarn.

<sup>53</sup> See vol. i. For further remarks on the country Tu-ho-lo and the Tokhari people see a pamphlet by G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu on the probable origin of the Toukhari (*De l'Origine probable des Toukhares*). Louvain, 1883. This writer combats the opinion of Baron Richtofen and others that the Yue-chi and the Tokhari are identical. This is in agreement with vol. i., n. 121, of the present work.

sacred relics (*traces*) shine with their own peculiar splendour; let us go together from place to place, and tell our faithful (*believing*<sup>54</sup>) friends what sacred relics we ourselves have seen."

On this the two or three associates, taking their religious staves,<sup>55</sup> went forth to travel together. Arrived in India, at whatever convent gates they called, they were treated with disdain as belonging to a frontier country, and no one would take them in. They were exposed to the winds and the rains without, and within they suffered from hunger; their withered bodies and pallid faces showed their misery. At this time the king of the country in his wandering through the suburbs of the city saw these strange priests. Surprised, he asked them, "What region, mendicant masters, come you from? and why are you here with your unpierced ears<sup>56</sup> and your soiled garments?" The Sramanas replied, "We are men of the Tu-ho-lo country. Having received with respect the bequeathed doctrine,<sup>57</sup> with high resolve we have spurned the common pursuits of life, and following the same plan, we have come to see and adore the sacred relics. But alas! for our little merit, all alike have cast us out; the Sramans of India deign not to give us shelter, and we would return to our own land, but we have not yet completed the round of our pilgrimage. Therefore, with much fatigue and troubled in heart, we follow on our way till we have finished our aim."

The king hearing these words, was much affected with pity, and forthwith erected on this fortunate (*excellent*) site a *sangharama*, and wrote on a linen scroll the following decree: "It is by the divine favour of the three precious ones (*Buddha, Dharma, Sangha*) that I am sole ruler of the world and the most honoured among men. Having acquired sovereignty over men, this charge has been laid on me by Buddha, to protect and cherish all who wear the garments of religion (*soiled or dyed garments*). I have built this *sangharama* for the special entertainment of strangers. Let no priest with pierced ears ever dwell in this convent of mine." Because of this circumstance the place received its name.

Going south-east from the convent of 'O-pi-t'o-kie-la-na about 100 li, and passing to the south of the Ganges, we come

<sup>54</sup> "Our non-heretical friends or relatives," or it may be simply "our attached friends."

<sup>55</sup> There are two such foreign pilgrims with their staves sculptured at Amaravati. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxxxii. fig. 1. Fergusson suggests they may be Scythians; probably they are these Tokhari people. If this be so, their position beneath the palm-tree indicates the misery they endured, as described in the text; and the grouping may be compared with the "Judæa capta" medal.

<sup>56</sup> Hence the name, *Aviddhakarna*.

<sup>57</sup> That is, the bequest or testamentary doctrine of Buddha's religion.



to the town Mo-ho-sa-lo (Mahasara),<sup>58</sup> the inhabitants of which are all Brahmans, and do not respect the law of Buddha. Seeing the Sraman, they first inquired as to his studies, and ascertaining his profound knowledge, they then treated him with respect.

On the north side of the Ganges<sup>59</sup> there is a temple of (Na-lo-yen) Narayana-deva.<sup>60</sup> Its balconies and storied towers are wonderfully sculptured and ornamented. The images of the Devas are wrought of stone with the highest art of man. Miraculous signs, difficult to explain, are manifested here.

Going east from this temple 30 li or so, there is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. The greater part (*a great half*) is buried in the earth. Before it is a stone pillar about 20 feet high, on the top of which is the figure of a lion. There is an inscription cut in it (*i.e., the pillar*) respecting the defeat of the evil spirits. Formerly in this place there was some desert<sup>61</sup> demons, who, relying on their great strength and (*spiritual*) capabilities, fed on the flesh and blood of men. They made havoc of men and did the utmost mischief. Tathagata, in pity to living creatures, who were deprived of their natural term of days, by his spiritual power converted the demons, and led them, from reverence to him (*kwai i*),<sup>62</sup> to accept the command against murder. The demons, receiving his instruction respectfully, saluted him (*by the pradakshina*). Moreover, they brought a stone, requesting Buddha to sit down, desiring to hear the excellent law (*from his mouth*), that they might learn how to conquer their thoughts and hold themselves in check. From that time the disciples of the unbelievers have all endeavoured to remove the stone which the demons placed for a seat; but though 10,000 of them strove to do so, they would be unable to turn it. Leafy woods and clear lakes surround the foundation on the right and left, and men who approach the neighbourhood are unable to restrain a feeling of awe.

Not far from the spot where the demons were subdued there are many *sangharamas*, mostly in ruins, but there are still some priests, who all reverence the doctrine of the Great Vehicle.

Going south-east from this 100 li or so, we come to a ruined *stupa*, but still several tens of feet high. Formerly, after the

<sup>58</sup> The town of Mahasara, has been identified by M. V. de St. Martin with Masar, a village six miles to the west of Ara (Arrah).

<sup>59</sup> According to Cunningham, the pilgrim must have crossed the Ganges above Revelganj, which is nearly due north of Masar exactly 16 miles. This point, near the confluence of the Ganges and Ghagra, is deemed especially holy.

<sup>60</sup> That is, of Vishnu.

<sup>61</sup> The expression used for "desert" (*kwang ye*) is the same as that found in Fa-hian, referred to above, n. 49.

<sup>62</sup> The Chinese phrase *kwai i* corresponds with the Sanskrit *śarana*, "to take refuge in." Hence General Cunningham traces the name of this district Saran to the incident recorded in the text.

Nirvana of Tathagata, the great kings of the eight countries<sup>63</sup> divided his relics. The Brahman who meted out their several portions, smearing the inside of his pitcher with honey,<sup>64</sup> after allotting them their shares, took the pitcher and returned to his country. He then scraped the remaining relics from the vessel, and raised over them a *stupa*, and in honour to the vessel (*pitcher*) he placed it also within the *stupa*, and hence the name (*of Drona stupa*) was given it.<sup>65</sup> Afterwards Asokaraja, opening (*the stupa*), took the relics and the pitcher, and in place of the old<sup>66</sup> one built a great *stupa*. To this day, on festival occasions (*fast-days*), it emits a great light.

Going north-east from this, and crossing the Ganges, after travelling 140 or 150 li, we come to the country of Fei-she-li (Vaisali).

### FEI-SHE-LI [VAISALI]

This kingdom<sup>67</sup> is about 5000 li in circuit.<sup>68</sup> The soil is rich and

<sup>63</sup> See above.

<sup>64</sup> This translation is somewhat forced. Literally the passage runs thus—"honey-smearing-pitcher-within."

<sup>65</sup> The *Drona stupa* (called the *Kumbhan stupa* by Turnour, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. vii, p. 1013) is said to have been built by Ajatasatru (*Asokavaddana*, translated by Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 372). It may have stood near a village called Degwara. It is named the "golden pitcher *stupa*" by Asvaghosha, *Fo-sho*, v. 2283 (compare Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 351). The Brahman himself is sometimes called Drona, or Droha, or Dauna. Drona corresponds with the Chinese *p'ing*, a pitcher or vase. Julien, in a note seems to imply that Drona is simply measure of capacity, and so he restores *p'ing* to *karka*. But it also means a vessel or vase; probably in this case the Brahman's pitcher. Compare *Fo-sho*, v. 1408; see also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 442.

<sup>66</sup> Julien translates, "then he reconstructed the monuments and enlarged it"; but in the original, as in all cases when speaking of Asoka's building, it is implied that he destroyed the old erection, and in its place he built "a great *stupa*." It would be gratifying if we could ascertain the character of the pre-Asoka monuments. They are said by Cunningham to have been "mere mounds of earth," the sepulchral monuments of the early kings of the country even before the rise of Buddhism.—*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 449.

<sup>67</sup> The pilgrim must have crossed the Gandak river, not the Ganges. This river flows within 12 miles of Degwara, the probable site of the *Drona stupa*. Vaisali, therefore, is to the east of the Gandak, and is placed by Cunningham on the site of the present village of Besarh, where there is an old ruined fort still called Raja-Bisal-ka-garh, or the fort of the Raja Visala. It is exactly 23 miles north-north-east from Degwara. Vaisali was probably the chief town, or the first in importance, of the people called Vrijiis or Vajjis. These people were a northern race who had taken possession of this part of India (viz., from the foot of the mountains to the Ganges on the south, and from the Gandak on the west to the Mahanadi on the east) from an early period; how early we cannot say, but as early as the redaction of the Buddhist books at least.

<sup>68</sup> This is much in excess of the actual measurement, even if the country of Vriji be included. But for these calculations of area or circuit



fertile; flowers and fruits are produced in abundance. The *amra* fruit (*mango*) and the *mocha* (*banana*) are very plentiful and much prized. The climate is agreeable and temperate. The manners of the people are pure and honest. They love religion and highly esteem learning. Both heretics and believers are found living together. There are several hundred *sangharamas*, which are mostly dilapidated. The three or five<sup>69</sup> which still remain have but few priests in them. There are several tens of Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of different kinds. The followers of the Nirgranthas are very numerous.

The capital city of Vaisali is to a great extent in ruins. Its old foundations are from 60 to 70 li in circuit. The royal precincts are about 4 or 5 li round: there are a few people living in it. North-west of the royal city (*precincts*) 5 or 6 li, is a *sangharama* with a few disciples. They study the teaching of the Little Vehicle, according to the Sammativa school.

By the side of it is a *stupa*. It was here Tathagata delivered the *Vimalakirti Sutra* (*Pi-mo-lo-kie-king*), and the son of a householder, Ratnakara,<sup>70</sup> and others offered precious parasols (*to Buddha*).<sup>71</sup> To the east of this is a *stupa*. It was here Sariputra and others obtained perfect exemption (*became Arhats*).

To the south-east of this last spot is a *stupa*; this was built by a king of Vaisali. After the *Nirvana* of Buddha, a former king of this country obtained a portion of the relics of his body, and to honour them as highly as possible raised (*this building*).<sup>72</sup>

The records of India state: In this *stupa* there was a first a quantity of relics equal to a "*hoh*" (ten pecks). Asoka-raja

the pilgrim had no data except the ordinary statements of the people, which would be certainly exaggerated.

<sup>69</sup> Julien proposes to substitute *four* for *five*. I have kept to the original, which is in accordance with Oriental idiom.

<sup>70</sup> So Julien restores *p'ao-tsi*, treasure heap. It is sometimes restored to Ratnakuta (B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, p. 10 ss.); but, as before stated, the Chinese symbol for *kuta* is *hwui*, not *tsi*. Ratnakara is perhaps the same as Yasada.

<sup>71</sup> Yasada is generally represented with a parasol over his head. Much of the later Buddhist legend appears to have been borrowed or adopted from the history of Yasada. Pl. lxiii. fig. 3, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, probably relates to him.

<sup>72</sup> The Lichhavis of Vaisali obtained a share of the relics of Buddha, and raised over them a *stupa*. (See Varga 28 of the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*). The scene found at Sanchi (pl. xxviii. fig. 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship*) probably refers to this *stupa* and its consecration. The appearance of the men shows they were a Northern race; their hair and flowing hair-bands and musical instruments agree with the account given of the people of Kuche (vol. i. *ante*). It is stated both in the Pali and Northern Buddhist books that the Lichhavis were distinguished for their bright coloured and variegated dresses and equipages. All the evidence seems to point to these people being a branch of the Yue-chi.

opening it, took away nine-tenths of the whole, leaving only one-tenth behind. Afterwards there was a king of the country who wished again to open the *stupa*, but at the moment when he began to do so, the earth trembled, and he dared not proceed to open (*the stupa*).

To the north-west is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*; by the side of it is a stone pillar about 50 or 60 feet high, with the figure of a lion<sup>73</sup> on the top. To the south of the stone pillar is a tank. This was dug by a band of monkeys (*Markatahrada*) for Buddha's use. When he was in the world of old, *Tathagata* once and again dwelt here. Not far to the south of this tank is a *stupa*; it was here the monkeys, taking the alms-bowl of *Tathagata*, climbed a tree and gathered him some honey.

Not far to the south is a *stupa*; this is the place where the monkeys offered the honey<sup>74</sup> to Buddha. At the northwest angle of the lake there is still a figure of a monkey.

To the north-east of the *sangharama* 3 or 4 li is a *stupa*; this is the old site of the house of *Vimalakirti* (*Pi-mo-lo-ki*);<sup>75</sup> various spiritual signs (*manifestations*) are exhibited here.

Not far from this is a spirit-dwelling<sup>76</sup> (*a chapel* ?), its shape like a pile of bricks. Tradition says<sup>77</sup> this stonepile is where the householder *Vimalakirti* preached the law when he was sick.

Not far from this is a *stupa*; this is the site of the old residence of *Ratnakara* (*P'ao tsi*).<sup>78</sup>

Not far from this is a *stupa*; this is the old house of the lady *Amra*.<sup>79</sup> It was here the aunt of Buddha and other *Bhikshunis* obtained *Nirvana*.

<sup>73</sup> The *Lichhavis* were called "lions." See *Fo-sho*, v. 1906. It would seem that the four animals named in vol. i. are typical of the four regions respectively; the "lion" would therefore typify Northern nations.

<sup>74</sup> This scene is also found at *Sanchi* (pl. xxvi. fig. 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*). It is on the same pillar as the consecration scene alluded to above. The pillar was evidently the work or gift of the *Vaisali* people.

<sup>75</sup> *Vimalakirti* is explained by the Chinese equivalents *wu kau ching*, i.e., undefiled reputation. He was a householder (*chang-che*) of *Vaisali* and a convert to Buddhism. There is little said about him in the books; but he is supposed to have visited China (*Eitel, Handbook*, sub voc.).

<sup>76</sup> This was probably one of the *Vajjian* shrines, *Chetiyani* or *Yakkha-chetiyani*, of which we read in the *Book of the Great Decease*, and elsewhere. (Compare *Sac. Bks. of the East*, vol. xi. p. 4).

<sup>77</sup> *Julien* translates—"Tradition has preserved for it the name of 'piled-up stone' (*Asmakuta* ?)." But there is no symbol for "name"; it is simply "tradition says." *Julien* has omitted the title of "house-holder" (*chang-che*).

<sup>78</sup> There is some difficulty in restoring *P'ao tsi*. *Julien*, in the passage before us, restores it to *Ratnakara*, but in note 1 (same page) he restores the same symbols to *Ratnakuta*.

<sup>79</sup> For an account of the lady *Amra*, see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, *varga* 22. *Julien* restores the expression to "daughter of the *Amra*" (*Amradarika*). Maybe, but "the lady *Arma*" appears more natural. *Sh*

To the north of the sangharama 3 or 4 li is a *stupa*; this indicates the place where Tathagata stopped when about to advance to Kusinagara to die, whils men and Kinnaras followed him.<sup>80</sup> From this not far to the north-west is a *stupa*; here Buddha for the very last time gazed upon the city of Vaisali.<sup>81</sup> Not far to the south of this is a *vihara*, before which is built a *stupa*; this is the site of the garden of the Amra-girl,<sup>82</sup> which she gave in charity to Buddha.

By the side of this garden is a *stupa*; this is the place where Tathagata announced his death.<sup>83</sup> When Buddha formerly dwelt in this place, he told Ananda as follows:—"Those who obtain the four spiritual faculties are able to extend their lives to a kalpa. What is the term of years of Tathagata then?" Thrice he asked this question, and Ananda answered not, through the fascination of Mara. Then Ananda rising from his seat, gave himself up to silent thought in a wood. At this time Mara coming to Buddha,<sup>84</sup> asked him, saying, "Tathagata has

is called the "Mango girl" in the Southern records (*Sac. Books of the East*, vol. xi. p. 33), and the Chinese would bear this translation. She was a courtesan, and otherwise called Ambapali. For an account of her birth and history, see *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 327 ss.

<sup>80</sup> The Kinnaras are said to be the horse-faced musicians of Kuvera (Eitel, *sub voc.*); but the Chinese symbols describe them as "something different from men." They may be seen figured in the sculpture at Sanchi, pl. xxvi. fig. 1, where they are coming to the place where Buddha stopped (figured by the oblong stone); this is another sculpture of the Vaisali pillar, and illustrates the notice in the text.

<sup>81</sup> The incident connected with Buddha's last look at Vaisali is narrated, *Fa-hian*, cap. xxv; *Sac. Books of the East*, vol. xi. p. 64, and vol. xix. p. 283.

<sup>82</sup> Or, the lady Amra; for an account of the gift of the garden, see *Fo-sho* as above.

<sup>83</sup> For an account of this incident compare *Fa-hian*, cap. xxv; *Sac. Books of the East*, vol. xi. p. 41 and vol. xix. p. 267.

<sup>84</sup> This interview of Mara (called Pisuna, the wicked one, in the Chinese version, *S. B. E.*, vol. xix. p. 267) is again found among the Sanchi sculptures on the Vaisali pillar, pl. xxvi. fig. 1, lower scene. Mara is known by the escort of women, his daughters; he is here standing in front of the tree which symbolises Buddha's presence. His appearance and escort here are the same as in pl. xxx. fig. 1, upper part; he is there represented above the scene of rejoicing among the Devas of the Trayastrimsas heaven around the head-turban of Buddha after the great renunciation; he is fitly placed above that heaven as being the "lord of the world of desire," and therefore always described as occupying the upper mansion of this tier of heavens. His distress and rage are indicative of his condition of mind in knowledge of Bodhisattva's renunciation. If the four identifications on this pillar are correct, we may conclude that the people of Vaisali were a Northern people allied to the Yuechi, which illustrates the observation of Csoma Korosi, "that Tibetan writers derive their first king about 250 B.C. from the Litsabyis or Lichhavis" (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 236, note). The Sakya family of Buddha is also said to belong to this tribe. *Memoire* by V. de St. Martin, p. 367, note. The symbols used by the Chinese for the Yue-chi and for the Vrijjis are the same. Unless we are to suppose a much earlier incursion of these people:

for a long time dwelt in the world teaching and converting. Those whom he has saved from the circling streams (*of transmigration*) are as numerous as the dust or the sands. This surely is the time to partake of the joy of *Nirvana*." Tathagata taking some grains of dust on his nail, asked Mara, saying, "Are the grains of dust on my nail equal to the dust of the whole earth or not?" He answered, "The dust of the earth is much greater." Buddha said, "Those who are saved are as the grains of earth on my nail; those not saved like the grains of the whole earth; but after three months I shall die." Mara hearing it, was rejoiced and departed.

Meantime Ananda in the wood suddenly had a strange dream, and coming to Buddha he told it to him, saying, "I was in the wood, when I beheld in my dream a large tree, whose branches and leaves in their luxuriance cast a grateful shade beneath, when suddenly a mighty wind arose which destroyed and scattered the tree and its branches without leaving a mark behind. Oh, forbid it that the lord is going to die! My heart is sad and worn, therefore I have come to ask you if it be so or not?"

Buddha answered Ananda, "I asked you before, and Mara so fascinated you that you did not then ask me to remain in the world. Mara-*raja* has urged me to die soon, and I have covenanted to do so, and fixed the time. This is the meaning of your dream."<sup>85</sup>

Not far from this spot is a *stupa*. This is the spot where the thousand sons beheld their father and their mother.<sup>86</sup> Formerly there was a Rishi who lived a secret life amid the crags and valleys. In the second month of spring he had been bathing himself in a pure stream of water. A roe-deer which came to drink there just after, conceived and brought forth a female child, very beautiful beyond human measure, but she had the feet of a deer. The Rishi having seen it, adopted and

into India than is generally allowed, the date of the Southern books of Buddhism (the book of the *Great Decease* and others), which contain accounts respecting the character, habits, and dress of the Lichhavis (which correspond with the Northern accounts), must be brought down considerably later than the assumed date of the redaction of the Pali canon. But, on the other hand, if it be true that the incursion of these people took place when Pataliputra was strengthened as a fortified outpost to repel their advance, *i.e.*, about the time of Buddha, then we must allow an early advance on their part into India. We know they were regarded as intruders, for Ajatasatru, king of Magadha, was desirous to attack and root out "these Vajjians," and it was he also who strengthened the city of Pataliputra. The question deserves consideration.

<sup>85</sup> For a full account of this incident, see, as before, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xi. and xix.

<sup>86</sup> Compare *Fa-hian*, p. 97 (Beal's edition). Julien has no notice of "the father" of the children: perhaps it is an error in my text.

cherished it (*as his child*). As time went on, on one occasion he ordered her to go and seek some fire. In so doing she came to the hut of another Rishi; but wherever her feet trod there she left the impression of a lotus-flower on the ground. The other Rishi having seen this, was very much surprised, and bade her walk round his hut and he would give her some fire. Having done so and got the fire, she returned. At this time Fan-yu-wang (Brahmadatta-<sup>87</sup>) going out on a short excursion, saw the lotus-flowers traces, and followed them to seek (*the cause*). Admiring her strange and wonderful appearance, he took her back in his carriage. The soothsayers casting her fortune said, "She will bear a thousand sons." Hearing this, the other women did nothing but scheme against her. Her time having been accomplished, she brought forth a lotus-flower of a thousand leaves, and on each leaf was seated a body. The other women slandered her on its account, and saying it was "an unlucky omen," threw (*the lotus*) into the Ganges, and it was carried away by the current.

The king of Ujjiana (U-shi-yen), down the stream going out for an excursion, observed a yellow-cloud-covered box floating on the water and coming towards him. He took it and opened it, and there saw a thousand boys; being well nourished, when they came to perfect stature, they were of great strength. Relying on these, he extended his kingdom in every direction and encouraged by the victories of his troops, he was on the point of extending his conquests to this country (*i.e.*, Vaisali). Brahmadatta-<sup>87</sup> hearing of it, was much alarmed; fearing his army was not able to contend successfully with the invaders, he was at a loss what to do. At this time the deer-footed girl, knowing in her heart that these were her sons, addressed the king thus: "Now that these youthful warriors are approaching the frontier, from the highest to the lowest there is an absence of courage (*heart*). Your feeble wife by her thought is able to conquer those redoubtable champions." The king not yet believing her, remained overwhelmed with fear. Then the deer-girl, mounting the city wall, waited the arrival of the warriors. The thousand youths having surrounded the city with their soldiers, the deer-girl said to them, "Do not be rebellious! I am your mother; you are my sons." The thousand youths replied, "What extravagant words are these!" The deer-girl then pressing both her breasts, a thousand jets of milk flowed out therefrom, and by divine direction fell into their mouths. Then they laid aside their armour, broke their ranks, and returned to their tribe and family. The two countries mutually rejoiced, and the people rested in peace.

<sup>87</sup> If *yu* be taken in the sense of "given," Brahmadatta may be the right restoration. Julien proposes Brahmanadita doubtfully.

Not far from this spot is a *stupa*. This is where Tathagata walked for exercise, and left the traces thereof. In teaching (or, pointing to the traces) he addressed the congregation thus: "In ancient days, in this place, I returned to my family<sup>88</sup> on seeing my mother. If you would know them, those thousand youths are the same as the thousand Buddhas of this Bhadra-kalpa."

To the east of the spot where Buddha explained this birth (*jataka*) is a ruined foundation above which is built a *stupa*. A bright light is from time to time reflected here. Those who ask (*pray*) in worship obtain their requests. The ruins of the turretted preaching-hall, where Buddha uttered the *Samanta-mukha*<sup>89</sup> *dharani* and other *sutras*, are still visible.

By the side of the preaching-hall, and not far from it, is a *stupa* which contains the relics of the half body of Ananda.<sup>90</sup>

No far from this are several *stupas*—the exact number has not yet been determined. Here a thousand Pratyeka Buddhas (To-kio) attained *Nirvana*. Both within and without the city of Vaisali, and all round it, the sacred vestiges are so numerous that it would be difficult to recount them all. At every step commanding sites and old foundations are seen, which the succession of seasons and lapse of years have entirely destroyed. The forests are uprooted; the shallow lakes are dried up and stinking; nought but offensive remnants of decay can be recorded.

Going north-west of the chief city 50 or 60 li, we come to a great *stupa*. This is where the Lichhavas (Li-ch'e-p'o) took leave of Buddha.<sup>91</sup> Tathagata having left the city of Vaisali on his way to Kusinagara, all the Lichhavas, hearing that Buddha was about to die, accompanied him wailing and lamenting. The Lord of the World having observed their fond affection, and as words were useless to calm them, immediately by his spiritual power caused to appear a great river with steep sides and deep, the waves of which flowed on impetuously. Then the Lichhavas were abruptly stopped on their way, moved with grief as they were. Then Tathagata left them his *patra* as a token of remembrance.

Two hundred li to the north-west of the city of Vaisali, or a little less, is an old and long-deserted city, with but few inhabitants. In it is a *stupa*. This is the place where Buddha dwelt when, in old days, for the sake of an assembly of Bodhi-

<sup>88</sup> Fa-hian calls this place the spot where Buddha "laid aside his bow and his club."

<sup>89</sup> *Pu-men-t'o-lo-ni-king*; this is a section of the *Saddharma pundarika Sutra*, but we cannot suppose that any portion of this work is as old as the time of Buddha.

<sup>90</sup> For an account of the division of Ananda's body consult *Fa-hian*, cap. xxvi.

<sup>91</sup> For this event see *Fa-hian*, cap. xxiv.



sattvas, men, and Devas, he recited an explanatory *jataka* of himself when as a Bodhisattva he was a *Chakravartin* monarch of this city and called Mahadeva (Ta-tien). He was possessed of the seven treasures,<sup>92</sup> and his rule extended over the world (*the four empires*). Observing the marks of decay in himself,<sup>93</sup> and concluding in his mind about the impermanency of his body, he took a high resolve (*being secretly affected by his reflections*), left his throne, gave up his country, and, becoming a hermit, assumed the dark robes and gave himself to study.

Going south-east from the city 14 or 15 li, we come to a great *stupa*. It was here the convocation of the seven hundred sages and saints was held.<sup>94</sup> One hundred and ten years after the *Nirvana* of Buddha there were in Vaisali some Bhikshus who broke the laws of Buddha and perverted the rules of discipline. At this time Yasada (Ye-she-t'o) Ayushmat<sup>95</sup> was stopping in the country of Kosala (Kiao-so-lo); Sambogha (San-pu-kia) Ayushmat was dwelling in the country of Mathura; Revata (Li-po-to) Ayushmat was stopping in the country of Han-jo (Kanyakubja ?<sup>96</sup>); Sala<sup>97</sup> (Sha-lo) Ayushmat was stopping in the country of Vaisali; Pujasumira (Fu-she-su-mi-lo = Kujjasobhita ?) Ayushmat was stopping in the country of Sha-lo-li-fo (Salari-bhu ?); all these were great Arhats, possessed of independent power, faithful to the three *pitakas*, possessed of the three enlightenments (*vidyas*), of great renown, knowing all that should be known, all of them disciples of Ananda.

At this time Yasada sent a message to summon the sages and saints to a convocation at the city of Vaisali. There was only wanting one to make up the 700, when Fu-she-su-mi-lo by the use of his divine sight saw the saints and sages assembled and deliberating about religious matters. By his miraculous power he appeared in the assembly. Then Sambogha in the midst of the assembly, baring his right breast and prostrating himself, (*arose*) and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Let the congregation be silent, respectfully thoughtful ! In former days the great and holy King of the Law, after an illustrious career, entered *Nirvana*. Although years and months have elapsed since then,

<sup>92</sup> That is, the seven treasures of a holy-wheel king, or Chakravartin. For an account of these treasures see Senart, *La Légende du Buddha*, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>93</sup> These marks of decay were the first white hairs that appeared on his head. On seeing these he resigned the throne to his son and became an ascetic. He is called Makhadewa by Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 129, 130.

<sup>94</sup> This is generally called "the second Buddhist convocation." For an account of it see Oldenberg, *Vinayapitakam*, vol. i; *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 83, ss., &c.

<sup>95</sup> So the Chinese *Chang-lo* may be rendered.

<sup>96</sup> Julien restores this doubtfully as Hanjna.

<sup>97</sup> Julien has omitted all mention of Sala.

his words and teaching still survive. But now the Bhikshus of Vaisali have become negligent and pervert of commandments. There are then points in which they disobey the words of the Buddha (*the ten-power-dasabala*). Now then, learned sirs, you know well the points of error; you are well acquainted with the teaching of the highly virtuous (*bhadanta*) Ananda: in deep affection to Buddha let us again declare his holy will."

Then the whole congregation were deeply affected; they summoned to the assembly the Bhikshus, and, according to the *Vinaya*, they charged them with transgression, bound afresh the rules that had been broken, and vindicated the holy law.

Going south 80 or 90 li from this place, we come to the *sangharama* called Svetapura (*shi-fei-pu-lo*); its massive towers, with their rounded shapes and double storeys, rise in the air. The priests are calm and respectful, and all study the Great Vehicle. By the side of this building are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked.

By the side of these is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*. It was here, when Buddha was alive, that, on going southwards to the Magadha country, he turned northwards to look at Vaisali, and left there, on the road where he stopped to breathe, traces of his visit.

Going south-east from the Svetapura *sangharama* 30 li or so, on either (south and north) side of the Ganges river there is a *stupa*; this is the spot where the venerable Ananda divided his body between the two kingdoms. Ananda was on his father's side cousin of Tathagata. He was a disciple (*saiksha*<sup>98</sup>) well acquainted with the doctrine (*collectanea*), thoroughly instructed in ordinary matters (*men and things*), and of masculine understanding. After Buddha's departure from the world he succeeded the great Kasyapa in the guardianship of the true law, and became the guide and teacher of men devoted to religion (*men not yet Arhats*). He was dwelling in the Magadha country in a wood; as he was walking to and fro he saw a Sramanera (*novice*) repeating in a bungling way a *sutra* of Buddha, perverting and mistaking the sentences and words. Ananda having heard him, his feelings were moved towards him, and, full of pity, he approached the place where he was; he desired to point out his mistakes and direct him in the right way. The Sramanera, smiling, said, "Your reverence is of great age; your interpretation of the words is a mistaken one. My teacher is a man of much enlightenment; his years (*spring and autumn*) are in their full maturity. I have received from him personally the true method of interpreting (*the work in question*); there can be no mistake." Ananda remained silent, and then went away, and with a sigh he said, "Although my

<sup>98</sup> In Chinese, *To-wan*. He was the son of Suklodana-*raja*.



years are many, yet for men's sake I was wishful to remain longer in the world, to hand down and defend the true law. But now men (*all creatures*) are stained with sin, and it is exceedingly difficult to instruct them. To stay longer would be useless: i will die soon." On this, going from Magadha, he went towards the city of Vaisali, and was now in the middle of the Ganges in a boat, crossing the river. At this time the king of Magadha, hearing of Ananda's departure, his feelings were deeply affected towards him, and so, preparing his chariot, he hastened after him with his followers (*soldiers*) to ask him to return. And now his host of warriors, myriads in number, were on the southern bank of the river, when the king of Vaisali, hearing of Ananda's approach, was moved by a sorrowful affection, and, equipping his host, he also went with all speed to meet him. His myriads of soldiers were assembled on the opposite bank of the river (*the north side*), and the two armies faced each other, with their banners and accoutrements shining in the sun. Ananda, fearing lest there should be a conflict and a mutual slaughter, raised himself from the boat into mid-air, and there displayed his spiritual capabilities, and forthwith attained *Nirvana*. He seemed as though encompassed by fire, and his bones fell in two parts, one on the south side, the other on the north side of the river. Thus the two kings each took a part, and whilst the soldiers raised their piteous cry, they all returned home and built *stupas* over the relics and paid them religious worship.

Going north-east from this 500 li or so, we arrive at the country of Fo-li-shi (Vriji)..<sup>99</sup>

#### FO-LI-SHI [VRIJI]<sup>100</sup>

This kingdom is about 4,000 li in circuit. From east to west it is broad, and narrow from north to south. The soil is rich and fertile; fruits and flowers are abundant. The climate is rather cold; the men are quick and hasty in disposition. Most of the people are heretics; a few believe in the law of Buddha. There are about ten *sangharamas*; the disciples (*priests*) are less than 1,000. They study assiduously both the Great and Little Vehicles. There are several tens of Deva temples, with a great number of unbelievers. The capital of the country is called

<sup>99</sup> Northern people call this San-fa-shi-Samvaji. It is in Northern India.—*Ch. Ed.*

<sup>100</sup> The country of the Vrijjis or Samvrijjis, *i.e.*, united Vrijjis, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijjis or Vajjis, one of which, *viz.*, that of the Lichhavis, dwelt at Vaisali. They were republicans, and, if we may rely on the inferences found in note 80 *ante*, they were a confederation of Northern tribes who had at an early date taken possession of this part of India. They were driven back by Ajatasatru, king of Magadha. Compare Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 449. *Sacred Books of the East*, xi. 2 ss.

Chen-shu-na.<sup>101</sup> It is mostly in ruins. In the old royal precinct (*citadel or inner city*) there are yet some 3,000 houses; it may be called either a village or a town.

To the north-east of the great river is a *sangharama*. The priests are few, but they are studious and of a pure and dignified character.

From this going west along the side of the river, we find a *stupa* about 30 feet high. To the south of it is a stretch of deep water. The great merciful Lord of the World converted here some fishermen. In days long past, when Buddha was living, there were 500 fishermen who joined in partnership to fish for and catch the finny tribes, whereupon they entangled in the river stream a great fish with eighteen heads; each head had two eyes. The fishermen desired to kill it, but Tathagata being then in the country of Vaisali, with his divine sight saw what was going on, and raising within him a compassionate heart, he used this opportunity as a means for converting and directing (*men*). Accordingly, in order to open their minds, he said to the great congregation, "In the Vriji country there is a great fish; I wish to guide it (*into the right way*), in order the enlighten the fishermen; you therefore should embrace this opportunity."

On this the great congregation surrounding him, by their spiritual power passed through the air and came to the river-side. He sat down as usual, and forthwith addressed the fishermen: "Kill not that fish. By my spiritual power I will open the way for the exercise of expedients, and cause this great fish to know its former kind of life; and in order to this I will cause it to speak in human language and truly to exhibit human affection (*feelings*)." Then Tathagata, knowing it beforehand, asked (*the fish*), "In your former existence, what crime did you commit that in the circle of migration you have been born in this evil way and with this hideous body?" The fish said, "Formerly, by the merit I had gained, I was born in a noble family as the Brahman Kapitha (*Kie-pi-tha*). Relying on this family origin, I insulted other persons; relying on my extensive knowledge, I despised all books and rules, and with a supercilious heart I reviled the Buddhas with opprobrious words, and ridiculed the priests by comparing them to every kind of brute beast, as the ass, or the mule, or the elephant, or the horse, and every unsightly form. In return for all this I received this monstrous body of

<sup>101</sup> Julien restores this to Chanšuna. V. de St. Martin connects the name with Janaka and Janakapura, the capital of Mithila (*Memoire*, p. 368). Compare Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 445. The interesting account the last writer gives of the old mounds or *stupas* (arranged as a cross) at the old town of Navandgarh in this territory (p. 449 *op. cit.*), and the respect which the Vajjians observed towards them, reminds us of the record of Herodotos respecting the veneration of the Skythians for the tombs (mounds) of their ancestors (*Melpomene*, 133).

mine. Thanks, however, to some virtuous remnants during former lives, I am born during the time of a Buddha's appearance in the world, and permitted to see his sacred form, and myself to receive his sacred instruction and to confess and repent of my former misdeeds."

On this Tathagata, according to the circumstance, instructed and converted him by wisely opening his understanding. The fish having received the law, expired, and by the power of this merit was born in heaven. On this he considered his body, and reflected by what circumstances he was thus born. So, knowing his former life and recollecting the circumstances of his conversion, he was moved with gratitude to Buddha, and, with all the Devas, with bended form he bowed before him and worshipped, and then having circumambulated him, he withdrew, and, standing apart, offered precious flowers and unguents in religious service. The Lord of the World having directed the fishermen to consider this, and on their account preached the law, they were all forthwith enlightened and offered him profound respect. Repenting of their faults, they destroyed their nets, burnt their boats, and having taken refuge in the law, they assumed the religious habit, and by means of the excellent doctrine they heard came out of the reach of worldly influences and obtained the holy fruit (*of Arhats*).

Going north-east from this spot about 100 li, we come to an old city, on the west of which is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*rāja*, in height about 100 feet. Here Buddha, when living in the world, preached the law for six months and converted the Devas. Going north 140 or 150 paces is a little *stupa*; here Buddha, for the sake of the Bhikshus, established some rules of discipline. West of this not far is a *stupa* containing hair and nail relics. Tathagata formerly residing in this place, men from all the neighbouring towns and villages flocked together and burnt incense, and scattered flowers, and lighted lamps and torches in his honour.

Going north-west from this 1,400 or 1,500 li, crossing some mountains and entering a valley, we come to the country of Ni-po-lo (Nepala).

#### NI-PO-LO [NEPAL]

This country is about 4,000 li in circuit, and is situated among the Snowy Mountains. The capital city is about 20 li round. Mountains and valleys are joined together in an unbroken succession. It is adapted for the growth of cereals, and abounds with flowers and fruits. It produces red copper, the *Yak* and the *Mingming* bird (*jivanjiva*). In commerce they use coins made of red copper. The climate is icy cold; the manners of the people are false and perfidious. Their temperament is hard and fierce, with little regard to truth or honour. They are

unlearned but skilful in the arts; their appearance is ungainly and revolting. There are believers and heretics mixed together. The *sangharamas* and Deva temples are closely joined. There are about 2,000 priests, who study both the Great and Little Vehicle. The number of heretics and sectaries of different sorts is uncertain. The king is a Kshattriya, and belongs to the family of the Licchavas. His mind is well-informed, and he is pure and dignified in character. He has a sincere faith in the law of Buddha.

Lately there was a king called Amsuvarman<sup>102</sup> (An-chu-fa-mo), who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on "sounds" (*Sabdavidya*); he esteemed learning and respected virtue, and his reputation was spread everywhere.

To the south-east of the capital is a little stream and a lake. If we fling fire into it, flames immediately arise; other things take fire if thrown in it, and change their character.

From this going back<sup>103</sup> to Vaisali, and crossing the Ganges to the south, we arrive at the country of Mo-kie-t'o (Magadha).

#### END OF BOOK VII.

<sup>102</sup> In Chinese, Kwang-chou: the only Amsuvarman in the lists of Nepal dynasties is placed by Prinsep immediately after Sivadeva, whose date he adjusted tentatively to A.D. 470. In Wright's lists Sivadeva is omitted, and Amsuvarman stands at the head of the Thakuri dynasty. In an inscription of Sivadeva, Amsuvarman is spoken of as a very powerful feudal chieftain, who probably ruled at first in the name of Sivadeva, but afterwards assumed the supreme power; and in other inscriptions dated Sam. 39 and 45, he is styled king, and the traditional account says he married the daughter of his predecessor and began a new dynasty; but it makes him contemporary with Vikramaditya of Ujjani (? cir. 540 to 580 A.D., Max Muller, *India*, p. 289). From Hiuen Tsiang's allusion we should be inclined to place Amsuvarman's reign about A.D. 580-600. His sister Bhogadevi was married to a Prince Surasena, and by him was the mother of Bhogavarman and Bhagyadevi. Amsuvarman was probably succeeded by Jishnugupta, of whom we have an inscription dated Sam. 48. If these dates refer to the Sri Harsha era, then Amsuvarman ruled about A.D. 644-652—at the close of the lifetime of Hiuen Tsiang—which is rather late. See Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 130 f.; Prinsep's *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ii., U. T., p. 269; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix. pp. 169-172.

<sup>103</sup> But the pilgrim does not appear himself to have gone into Nepal. He went to the capital of the Vrijjis, and there speaks from report. His return therefore must be calculated from this place.

## BOOK VIII.

*Contains the First Part of the Account of the Country of  
Magadha (Mo-kie-t'o).*

THE country of Magadha (Mo-kie-t'o)<sup>1</sup> is about 5,000 li in circuit. The walled cities have but few inhabitants, but the towns<sup>2</sup> are thickly populated. The soil is rich and fertile and the grain cultivation abundant. There is an unusual sort of rice grown here, the grains of which are large and scented and of an exquisite taste. It is specially remarkable for its shining colour. It is commonly called "the rice for the use of the great."<sup>3</sup> As the ground is low and damp, the inhabited towns are built on the high uplands. After the first month of summer and before the second month of autumn, the level country is flooded, and communication can be kept up by boats. The manners of the people are simple and honest. The temperature is pleasantly hot; they esteem very much the pursuit of learning and profoundly respect the religion of Buddha. There are some fifty *sangharnas*, with about 10,000 priests, of whom the greater number study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. There are ten Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of different persuasions, who are very numerous.

To the south of the river Ganges there is an old city about 70 li round. Although it has been long deserted, its foundation walls still survive. Formerly, when men's lives were incalculably long, it was called Kusumapura (K'u-su-mo-pu-lo),<sup>4</sup> so called because the palace of the king had many flowers. Afterwards, when men's age reached several thousands of years, then its name was changed to Pataliputra<sup>5</sup> (Po-ch'a-li-tsu-ch'ing).

At the beginning there was a Brahman of high talent and singular learning. Many thousands flocked to him to receive

<sup>1</sup> Or, it may mean the chief city or capital.

<sup>2</sup> *Yih*, the towns; Julien gives *villages*.

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the rice called *Mahasali* and *Sugandhika* (Julien).

<sup>4</sup> Explained in a note to mean Hian-hu-kong-sh'ing,—the city, or royal precinct, of the scented flower (*kusuma*).

<sup>5</sup> The text seems to refer the foundation of this city to a remote period, and in this respect is in agreement with Diodoros, who says (lib. ii. cap. 39) that this city *epiphanestate kai megote* was founded by Herakles. The Buddhist accounts speak of it as a village, Pataligama, which was being strengthened and enlarged by Ajatasatru, contemporary of Buddha, for the purpose of repelling the advance of the Vrijjis. See *Sac. Books of the East*, vol. xi. pp. 16, 17; Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 257; *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 249, n. 3; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 453.

instruction. One day all the students went out on a tour of observation; one of them betrayed a feeling of unquiet and distress. His fellow-students addressed him and said, "What troubles you, friend?" He said, "I am in my full maturity (*beauty*) with perfect strength, and yet I go on wandering about here like a lonely shadow till years and months have passed, and my duties (*manly duties*)<sup>6</sup> not performed. Thinking of this, my words are sad and my heart is afflicted."

On this his companions in sport replied, "We must seek then for your good a bride and her friends." Then they supposed two persons to represent the father and mother of the bridegroom, and two persons the father and mother of the bride,<sup>7</sup> and as they were sitting under a *Patali* (*Po-ch'a-li*) tree, they called it the tree of the son-in-law.<sup>8</sup> Then they gathered seasonable fruits and pure water, and followed all the nuptial customs, and requested a time to be fixed. Then the father<sup>9</sup> of the supposed bride gathering a twig with flowers on it, gave it to the student and said, "This is your excellent partner; be graciously pleased to accept her." The student's heart was rejoiced as he took her to himself. And now, as the sun was setting, they proposed to return home; but the young student, affected by love, preferred to remain.

Then the other said, "All this was fun; pray come back with us; there are wild beasts in this forest; we are afraid they will kill you." But the student preferred to remain walking up and down by the side of the tree.

After sunset a strange light lit up the plain, the sound of pipes and lutes with their soft music (*was heard*), and the ground was covered with a sumptuous carpet. Suddenly an old man of gentle mien was seen coming, supporting himself by his staff, and there was also an old mother leading a young maiden. They were accompanied by a procession along the way, dressed in holiday attire and attended with music. The old man then pointed to the maiden and said, "This is your worship's wife (*lady*)."<sup>7</sup> Seven days then passed in carousing and music, when the companions of the student, in doubt whether he had been destroyed by wild beasts, went forth and came to the place.

<sup>6</sup> So it seems, from the story following, the passage must be understood. Julien confines the meaning to his "studies" not yet completed. But there would be no point in the pretended marriage, if that were his regret.

<sup>7</sup> This is the natural translation of the passage, and makes good sense without the alteration proposed by Julien.

<sup>8</sup> That is, they made the tree the father-in-law of the student; in other words, he was to marry the daughter of the tree, a *Patali* flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*). I can find no authority for Julien's statement that the word son-in-law corresponds to *Patali*; this statement is also repeated by Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc. *Patala*.

<sup>9</sup> We must suppose him to represent the tree, the real father.



They found him alone in the shade of the tree, sitting as if facing a superior guest. They asked him to return with them, but he respectfully declined.

After this he entered of his own accord the city, to pay respect to his relatives, and told them of this adventure from beginning to end. Having heard it with wonder, he returned with all his relatives and friends to the middle of the forest, and there they saw the flowering tree become a great mansion; servants of all kinds were hurrying to and fro on every side, and the old man came forward and received them with politeness, and entertained them with all kinds of dainties served up amidst the sound of music. After the usual compliments, the guests returned to the city and told to all, far and near, what had happened.

After the year was accomplished the wife gave birth to a son, when the husband said to his spouse, "I wish now to return, but yet I cannot bear to be separated from you (*your bridal residence*); but if I rest here I fear the exposure to wind and weather."

The wife having heard this, told her father. The old man then addressed the student and said, "Whilst living contented and happy why must you go back? I will build you a house; let there be no thought of desertion." On this his servants applied themselves to the work, and in less than a day it was finished.

When the old capital of Kusumapura<sup>10</sup> was changed, this town was chosen, and from the circumstance of the genii building the mansion of the youth the name henceforth of the country was Pataliputra pura (the city of the son of the Patali tree).

To the north of the old palace of the king is a stone pillar several tens of feet high; this is the place where Asoka (Wu-yau) raja made "a hell." In the hundredth year after the *Nirvana* of Tathagata, there was a king called Asoka ('O-shu-kia), who was the great-grandson of Bimbisara-raja.<sup>11</sup> He changed his capital

<sup>10</sup> From this it would appear that Kusumapura was not on the same site as Pataliputra. Rajagriha was the capital in the time of Ajatasatru, and it was he who strengthened Pataliputra. In the next clause it is said that Asoka changed his capital from Rajagriha to Pataliputra. He is described as the great-grandson of Bimbisara, and therefore the grandson of Ajatasatru. The *Vayu Purana* states that Kusumapura or Pataliputra was founded by Raja Udayasva, the grandson of Ajatasatru; but the *Mahavanso* makes Udaya the son of the king. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 453.

<sup>11</sup> Hiuen Tsiang uses in this passage the phonetic equivalents for Asoka, 'O-shu-kia'; on this Dr. Oldenberg founds an argument that the king referred to is not Dharmasoka, but Kalasoka (*Vinaya Pitakam*, vol. i., Introd., p. xxxiii. n.) But a note in the text states that 'O-shu-kia' is the Sanskrit form of *Wu-yau*; the latter in the Chinese form, signifying "sorrowless." For Bimbisara, see *infra* n. 41.



from Rajagriha to Patali (pura), and built an outside rampart to surround the old city. Since then many generations have passed, and now there only remain the old foundation walls (*of the city*). The *sangharamas*, Deva temples, and *stupas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining (*entire*). To the north of the old palace,<sup>12</sup> and bordering on the Ganges river, there is a little town which contains about 1,000 houses.

At first when Asoka (Wu-yau) raja ascended the throne, he exercised a most cruel tyranny; he constituted a hell for the purpose of torturing living creatures. He surrounded it with high walls with lofty towers. He placed there specially vast furnaces of molten metal, sharp scythes, and every kind of instrument of torture like those in the infernal regions. He selected an impious man<sup>13</sup> whom he appointed lord of the hell. At first every criminal in the empire, whatever his fault, was consigned to this place of calamity and outrage; afterwards all those who passed by the place were seized and destroyed. All who came to the place were killed without any chance of self-defence.

At this time a Sramana, just entered the religious order, was passing through the suburbs begging food, when he came to hell-gate. The impious keeper of the place laid hold upon him to destroy him. The Sramana, filled with fear, asked for a respite to perform an act of worship and confession. Just then he saw a man bound with cords enter the prison. In a moment they cut off his hands and feet, and pounded his body in a mortar, till all the members of his body were mashed up together in confusion.

The Sramana having witnessed this, deeply moved with pity, arrived at the conviction of the impermanence (*anitya*) of all earthly things, and reached the fruit of "exemption from learning" (*Arhatship*). Then the infernal lictor said, "Now you must die." The Sramana having become an Arhat, was freed in heart from the power of birth and death, and so, though cast into a boiling caldron, it was to him as a cool lake and on its surface there appeared a lotus flower, whereon he took his seat. The infernal lictor, terrified thereat, hastened to send a messenger to the king to tell him of the circumstance. The king having himself come and beheld the sight, raised his voice in loud praise of the miracle.

The keeper, addressing the king, said, "Maharaja, you too must die." "And why so?" said the king. "Because of your

<sup>12</sup> This may refer to Kusumapura, the "flowery palace" city, or to the palace in the old town of Pataliputra.

<sup>13</sup> There seems to be only *one* man; Julien has "un troupe de scelerats." The story of this place of torment is found also in *Fa-hsien*, cap. xxxii.

former decree with respect to the infliction of death, that all who came to the walls of the hell should be killed; it was not said that the king might enter and escape death."

The king said, "The decree was indeed established, and cannot be altered. But when the law was made, were you excepted? You have long destroyed life. I will put an end to it." Then ordering the attendants, they seized the lictor and cast him into a boiling caldron. After his death the king departed, and levelled the walls, filled up the ditches, and put an end to the infliction of such horrible punishments.

To the south of the earth-prison (*the hell*), and not far off, is a *stupa*. Its foundation walls are sunk, and it is in a leaning, ruinous condition. There remains, however, the crowning jewel of the cupola.<sup>14</sup> This is made of carved stone, and has a surrounding balustrade.<sup>15</sup> This was the first (*or, one*) of the 84,000 (*stupas*). Asoka-raja erected it by the power (*merit*) of man<sup>16</sup> in the middle of his royal precinct (*or palace*). It contains a *ching* (measure) of relics of Tathagata. Spiritual indications constantly manifest themselves, and a divine light is shed round it from time to time.

After King Asoka had destroyed the hell, he met Upagupta<sup>17</sup> a great Arhat, who, by the use of (*proper*) means,<sup>18</sup> allured him in a right way according as the opportunity (*or, springs of action, i.e., his power or capacity to believe*) led, and converted him. The king addressed the Arhat and said, "Thanks to my acquired merit in former births, I have got (*by promise*) my kingly authority, but in consequence of my faults I did not, by meeting Buddha, obtain conversion. Now, then, I desire in all the greater degree to honour the bequeathed remains of his body by building *stupas*."

The Arhat said, "May earnest desire is that the great king by his merits may be able to employ the invisible powers (*the*

<sup>14</sup> *Shai pao*, the distinctive or strong ornament. It seems to refer to "the *tee* (*hti*)," as it is called; the ornamental enclosure above the cupola would represent the region of the heaven of the thirty-three Devas.

<sup>15</sup> So the dome of Sanchi is surmounted as restored by Mr. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. ii. (see also the remarks of the same writer, *op. cit.* p. 100, 1st ed.). The enclosed space or box on the summit of the *stupa* is not, however, a simulated relic-box, but represents the first heaven, or the Trayastrimsas heaven of Sakra and the thirty-two Devas. The Devas, therefore, are constantly represented in the sculptures as surrounding this enclosure and offering their gifts, in token of the relics of Buddha (his hair, golden bowl, &c.), taken there for worship. The Tee or Hti is the cone of metal circles, raised above this enclosed space, representing the lands (*khetas* or *kshetras*) above the Trayastrimsas heaven.

<sup>16</sup> Or it may probably be "by his religious merit as a man."

<sup>17</sup> For some remarks on Upagupta (Kin-hu), see *supra*.

<sup>18</sup> *Upaya*, expedients or skilful use of means.

*spirits*) as agents in fulfilling his vow to protect the three precious ones." And then, because of the opportune occasion, he entered largely on the narrative of his offering the ball of earth, and on that account of Buddha's prediction, as the origin of his desire to build.<sup>19</sup>

The king having heard this, was overpowered, and he summoned the spirits to assemble, and commanded them, saying, "By the gracious disposal and spiritual efficacy of the guiding power of the King of the Law I have become, as the result of my good actions in former states of life, the highest amongst them. (*I wish now*) with especial care to prepare a means of paying religious worship to the bequeathed body of Tathagata. Do you, then, spirits and genii, by your combined strength and agreement of purpose, raise *stupas* for the relics of Buddhas throughout the whole of Jambudvīpa, to the very last house of all<sup>20</sup> (*i.e.*, to the extremity of the land). The mind (*or purpose*) is mine, the merit of completing it shall be yours. The advantage to be derived from this excellent act of religion I wish not to be confined to one person only; let each of you, then, raise a building in readiness (*for completion*), and then come and receive my further commands."

Having received these instructions, the genii commenced their meritorious work in the several quarters where they were; and having finished the task (*so far*), they came together to ask for further directions. Asoka-*raja* (*Wu-yau-wang*) having opened the *stupas* of the eight countries where they were built, divided the relics, and having delivered them to the genii, he addressed the Arhat<sup>21</sup> and said, "My desire is that the relics should be deposited in every place at the same moment exactly: although ardently desirous of this, my mind has not yet been able to perfect a plan for accomplishing it."<sup>22</sup>

The Arhat addressed the king and said, "Command the genii to go each to his appointed place and regard the sun.<sup>23</sup> When the sun becomes obscured and its shape as if a hand

<sup>19</sup> The offering of the ball of earth refers to the circumstance related by Fa-hian at the opening of chap. xxxii. Julien has overlooked this, and refers the offering to the charity of Asoka in giving Jambudvīpa to the priests. But it is plain that no prediction of Buddha hinged on this. Kanishka is said also to have been converted by the relation of a prediction referring to him made by Buddha, and explained by a shepherd boy.

<sup>20</sup> The text is difficult. Julien translates it "dans chaque ville possédant un *keou-tchi* (un koti de souvarnas)." This may be correct, but the phrase *mwān keou chi* seems to me to refer to the full tale of inhabited places—everywhere.

<sup>21</sup> That is, Upagupta.

<sup>22</sup> Such appears to be the meaning of the passage. Julien translates it, "my desire is not yet accomplished." His desire was to find out a plan or method for depositing the relics at the same instant.

<sup>23</sup> Or it may be, "await an appointed day."

covered it, then is the time : drop the relics into the *stupas*." The king having received these instructions, gave orders accordingly to the *genii* to expect the appointed day.

Meantime the king, Asoka, watching the sun's disc, waited for the sign ; then at noon (*or* the day) the Arhat, by his spiritual power, stretched forth his hand and concealed the sun. At the places where the *stupas* had been built for completion, all (*the genii*<sup>24</sup>) observing this event, at the same moment concluded the meritorious undertaking.

By the side of the *stupa*, and not far from it, in a *vihara*, is a great stone on which Tathagata walked. There is still the impression of both his feet on it, about eighteen inches long and six inches broad ; both the right and left impress have the circle-sign,<sup>25</sup> and the ten toes are all fringed with figures of flowers (*or* flower scrolls) and forms of fishes, which glisten brightly in the light (*morning light*). In old time Tathagata, being about to attain *Nirvana*, was going northward to Kusinagara, when turning round to the south and looking back at Magadha, he stood upon this stone and said to Ananda, "Now for the very last time I leave this foot-impression, being about to attain *Nirvana*, and looking at Magadha. A hundred years hence there shall be a King Asoka ;<sup>26</sup> he shall build here his capital and establish his court ; he shall protect the three religious treasures and command the *genii*."

When Asoka (Wu-yau) had ascended the throne, he changed his capital and built this town ; he enclosed the stone with the impression ; and as it was near the royal precinct, he paid it constant personal worship. Afterwards the kings of the neighbourhood wished to carry it off to their own country ; but although the stone is not large, they could not move it at all.

Lately Sasankaraja, when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha, forthwith came to the place where that stone is, for the purpose of destroying the sacred marks. Having broken it into pieces, it came whole again, and the ornamental figures as before ; then he flung it into the river Ganges, but it came back to its old place.

<sup>24</sup> So it must signify, not the inhabitants of the several places, but the *genii* who were awaiting the signal.

<sup>25</sup> The circle-sign is the *chakra* ; this is the principal mark on the sole of Buddha's feet ; see Alabaster's *Wheel of the Law*, p. 286 and plate. Julien translates the passage as if the *chakra* were visible on the right and left of the feet, instead of on the right and left imprint of the feet.

<sup>26</sup> It is plain that this prediction concerning Wu-yau-wang, supposed by Oldenberg always to refer to Dharmasoka (see above, note 11), relates to O-chu-kia or Kalasoka, for it was, he, the grandson of Ajatasatru, who established his capital at Pataliputra ; so also in the next sentence. Hiuen Tsiang probably translated all the records relating to Asoka as though referring to the same person, using either 'O-shu-kia or 'O-yu, or Wu-yau, indifferently.

By the side of the stone is a *stupa*, which marks the place where the four past Buddhas walked and sat down, the traces of which still remain.

By the side of the *vihara* which contains the traces of Buddha, and not far from it, is a great stone pillar about thirty feet high, with a mutilated inscription on it. This, however, is the principal part of it, viz., "Asoka-*raja* with a firm principle of faith has thrice bestowed Jambudvīpa as a religious offering on Buddha, the Dharma and the assembly, and thrice he has redeemed it with his jewels and treasure; and this is the record thereof." Such is the purport of the record.

To the north of the old palace is a large stone house. It looks outside like a great mountain, and within it is many tens of feet wide. This is the house which Asoka-*raja* commanded the *genii* to build for his brother who had become a recluse. Early in his life Asoka had a half-brother (*mother's brother*) called Mahendra<sup>27</sup> (Mohi-in-to-lo), who was born of a noble tribe. In dress he arrogated the style of the king; he was extravagant, wasteful, and cruel. The people were indignant, and the ministers and aged officers of the king came to him (*the king*), and remonstrated thus, "Your proud brother assumes a dignity as though he were some great one in comparison with others. If the government is impartial, then the country is contented; if men are agreed, then the ruler is in peace; these are the principles which have been handed down to us from our fathers. We desire that you will preserve the rules of our country, and deliver to justice those who would change them." Then Asoka-*raja* addressed his brother as he wept, and said, "I have inherited (*as my rule of*) government the duty of protecting and cherishing the people; how then have you, my brother, forgotten my affection and my kindness? It is impossible at the very beginning of my reign to neglect the laws. If I punish you, I fear the anger of my ancestors; on the other hand, if I excuse you, I fear the opinion of the people."

Mahendra, bowing his head, replied, "I have not guarded my conduct, and have transgressed the laws of the country; I ask only an extension of my life for seven days."

On this the king placed him in a dark dungeon, and placed over him a strict guard. He provided him with every kind of exquisite meat and every necessary article. At the end of the first day the guard cried out to him, "One day has gone; there are six days left." The sixth day having expired, as he had greatly sorrowed for his faults and had afflicted (*disciplined*) his

<sup>27</sup> Mahendra (translated *Ta-ti*, great ruler) is generally spoken of as the son of Asoka. The Sinhalese historical works speak of him as the first Buddhist missionary sent to Ceylon. See *Mahawanso*, Turnour's transl., p. 76. Dr. Oldenberg doubts the truth of this tradition. *Vinaya-pitaka*, i., Introduction, lii.

body and his heart, he obtained the fruit of sanctity (*became an Arhat*); he mounted into the air and exhibited his miraculous powers (*spiritual traces*). Then separating himself from the pollution of the world, he went afar, and occupied the mountains and valleys (*as a recluse*).

Asoka-raja, going in his own person, addressed him as follows, "At first, in order to put in force the laws of the country, I desired to have you punished, but little did I think you would have attained to this highest rank of holiness.<sup>28</sup> Having, however, reached this condition of detachment from the world, you can now return to your country."

The brother replied, "Formerly I was ensnared in the net of (*worldly*) affections, and my mind was occupied with love of sounds (*music*) and beauty; but now I have escaped all this (*the dangerous city*), and my mind delights in (*the seclusion of*) mountains and valleys. I would fain give up the world for ever (*men's society*) and dwell here in solitude."

The king said, "If you wish to subdue your heart in quiet, you have no need to live in the mountain fastnesses. To meet your wishes I shall construct you a dwelling."

Accordingly he summoned the genii to his presence and said to them, "On the morrow I am about to give a magnificent feast. I invite you to come together to the assembly, but you must each bring for your own seat a great stone."<sup>29</sup> The genii having received the summons, came at the appointed time to the assembly. The king then addressed them and said, "The stones which are now arranged in order on the ground you may pile up, and, without any labour to yourselves, construct of them for me an empty house." The genii having received the order, before the day was over finished the task. Asoka-raja then himself went to invite his brother to fix his abode in this mountain cell.

To the north of the old palace, and to the south of "the hell," is a great stone with a hollow trough in it. Asoka-raja commissioned the genii as workmen to make this hollow (*vase*) to use for the food which he gave to the priests when he invited them to eat.

To the south-west of the old palace there is a little mountain. In the crags and surrounding valleys there are several tens of stone dwellings which Asoka-raja made for Upagupta and other Arhats, by the intervention of genii.

By the side of it is an old tower, the ruins of which are a mass of heaped-up stones. There is also a pond, the gentle ripples of which play over its surface as pure as a mirror. The

<sup>28</sup> That you would have mounted up in pure conduct to attain to and possess this holy fruit.

<sup>29</sup> Compare *Fa-hian*, chap. xxvii.



people far and near call it the sacred water. If any one drinks thereof or washes in it, the defilement of their sins is washed away and destroyed.

To the south-west of the mountain is a collection of five stupas. The foundations are lofty but ruinous; what remains, however, is a good height. At a distance they look like little hills. Each of them is several tens of paces in front. Men in after-days tried to build on the top of these little *stupas*. The records of India state, "In old time, when Asoka-*raja* built the 84,000 *stupas*, there was still remaining five measures of relics. Therefore he erected with exceptional grandeur five other *stupas*, remarkable for their spiritual portents (*miraculous exhibitions*), with a view to indicate the fivefold spiritual body of Tathagata.<sup>30</sup> Some disciples of little faith talking together argued thus, 'In old time Nanda-*raja*<sup>31</sup> built these five (*stupas*) as treasure places for his wealth (*seven precious substances*).' In consequence of this gossip, in after-time a king of insincere faith, and excited by his covetousness, put his troops in movement, and came with his followers to dig (*the stupas*). The earth shook, the mountains bent (*fell*), and the clouds darkened the sun, whilst from the *stupas* there came a great sound like thunder. The soldiers with their leaders fell backward, and the elephants and horses took to flight. The king thus defeated, dared no longer to covet (*the treasures*). It is said, moreover (*i.e., in the Indian records*), 'With respect to the gossip of the priests there has been some doubt expressed, but we believe it to be true according to the old tradition.'

To the south-east of the old city there is the *sangharama* called K'iu-cha-'o-lan-mo<sup>32</sup> (Kukkutarama), which was built by Asoka-*raja* when he first became a believer in the religion of Buddha. It was a sort of first-fruit (*preparation in planting the root of virtue*), and a pattern of majestic construction (*lofty building*). He gathered there a thousand priests; a double congregation of lay people and saints made their offerings of the

<sup>30</sup> Literally, the body of the law of Tathagata (*Ju-lai*) divided into five parts. It may refer to the five skandhas; these are *rupa* (*sih*), *vedana* (*sheu*), *samjñāna* (*siang*), *sanskāra* (*ling*), *vijñāna* (*chi*).

<sup>31</sup> This refers to Nanda, the son of Mahananda, called Mahapadma, who was exceedingly avaricious. He was the son of a woman of the Sudra class. He brought the whole earth under one umbrella (*Vishnu-Purana*, p. 466, Wilson's translation). In the *Mahavanso* he is called Dhana-nando, because he personally devoted himself to the hoarding of treasure (Max Muller, *Hist. Anc. Sansc. Lit.*, p. 281). The statement in the text, derived from "the old records of India," appears to identify Nanda with Asoka, *i.e.*, Kalasoka.

<sup>32</sup> This convent or *sangharama* must not be confounded with the Kukkutapadagiri, near Gaya. See *Fa-hian*, cap. xxxiii. p. 132 n., also *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. xv. p. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii. p. 327; compare also Julien's remark (*infra*).



four necessary things, and provided gratuitously all the articles for use. This building has long been in ruins, but the foundation walls are still preserved.

By the side of the *sangharama* is a great *stupa* called 'O-mo-lo-kia (Amalaka), which is the name of a fruit used as a medicine in India. King Asoka having fallen sick and lingering for a long time, felt that he would not recover, and so desired to offer all his possessions (*gems and valuables*) so as to crown his religious merit (*to plant high the field of merit*). The minister<sup>33</sup> who was carrying on the government was unwilling to comply with his wish. Some time after this, as he was eating part of an Amalaka fruit, he playfully<sup>34</sup> put the half of it (*in the hand of the king*) for an offering. Holding the fruit in his hand he said with a sigh to his minister, "Who now is lord of Jambudvipa?"

The minister replied, "Only your majesty."

The king answered, "Not so! I am no longer lord; for I have only this half fruit to call my own! Alas! the wealth and honour of the world are as difficult to keep as it is to preserve the light of a lamp in the wind! My wide-spread possessions, my name and high renown, at close of life are snatched from me, and I am in the hands of a minister violent and powerful. The empire is no longer mine; this half fruit alone is left!"

Then he commanded an attendant officer to come, and he addressed him thus: "Take this half fruit and offer it in the garden (*arama*) of the cock (*monastery*) to the priests, and speak thus to the venerable ones, 'He who was formerly lord of Jambudvipa, but now is master of only this half Amala fruit, bows down before the priests (*chief priest*). I pray you (*on behalf of the king*) receive this very last offering. All that I have is gone and lost, only this half fruit remains as my little possession. Pity the poverty of the offering, and grant that it may increase the seeds of his religious merit.'"

The Sthavira, in the midst of the priests, spoke thus in reply: "Asoka-raja by his former deeds may hope to recover. Whilst the fever has held his person, his avaricious ministers have usurped his power and amassed wealth not their own.

<sup>33</sup> It may be "ministers"; the story of the text is found among Asvaghosha's sermons. It is No. 26 as given in the *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 103.

<sup>34</sup> In a trifling way. This translation is difficult. Julien translates it as though the king were amused as he played with the fruit, until he had reduced it to a half. This translation is more agreeable to the text. But, on the other hand, in Asvaghosha's rendering of the story, he says that the minister offered the king a half Amala fruit, to bestow in charity. The translation I have given requires the substitution of *tan* (to give in charity) for *lan* (cooked or thoroughly dressed).

But this offering of half a fruit will secure the king an extension of life." The king having recovered from his sickness, gave large offerings to the priests. Moreover he ordered the manager of the affairs of the convent (Tin-see—Karmmadana) to preserve the seeds<sup>35</sup> of the fruit in a vessel of liquid fit for the purpose, and he erected this *stupa* as a mark of gratitude for his prolonged life.<sup>36</sup>

To the north-west of Amalaka *stupa*, in the middle of an old *sangharama*, is a *stupa*; it is called "establishing the sound of the *ghanta* (Kin-t'i)." At first there were about 100 *sangharamas* in this city; the priests were grave and learned, and of high moral character. The scholars among the heretics were silent and dumb. But afterwards, when that generation of priests had died out, their successors were not equal to those gone before. Then the teachers of the heretics, during the interval, gave themselves to earnest study with a view to the mastery. Whereupon they summoned their partisans, numbering 1000 to 10,000, to assemble together within the priest's precincts, and then they addressed them saying, with a loud voice, "Strike loudly the *ghanta* and summon all the learned men; let the foolish ones also stop and dispute; if we are wrong, let them overthrow us" (*or*, to overthrow their errors).

They then addressed the king and asked him to decide between the weak and the strong. And now the heretical masters were men of high talent and marked learning; the priests, although numerous, were weak in their points of verbal discussion.

The heretics said, "We have got the victory; from this time forth let no *sangharama* dare to sound the *ghanta* to call together a congregation." The king confirmed this result of the discussion, and, in agreement with it, bound the priests to the penalty. They on their part retired with shame and chagrin. For twelve years the *ghanta* was not sounded.

At this time lived (Na-kia-'o-la-chu-na) Nagarjuna Bodhisattva in Southern India, as a youth of high renown for scholarship. When grown up he assumed a lofty title. Giving up his home and its pleasures, he practised himself in the acquisition of the deepest and most excellent principle of learning, and arrived at the first earth (*the first degree*). He had a great disciple called (Ti-po) Deva, a man illustrious for wisdom and spiritual energy. This man, arousing himself to action, said,

<sup>35</sup> Or, the stone or kernel. The Karmadana is the steward of the convent.

<sup>36</sup> This passage is obscure, and the translation I give is not in agreement with M. Julien's. He makes the words of the Sthavira to be addressed to the other priests, and not to the messenger from the king. It appears to me that they were made in reply to the king's message, and include in them a promised anticipation of the king's recovery.

"At Vaisali the followers of learning (*Buddhist learners*) have been defeated in argument by the heretics, and now for twelve years, days and months together, they have not sounded the *ghanta*. I am bold enough to wish to overturn the mountain of heresy and to light the torch of true religion."

Nagarjuna replied, "The heretics of Vaisali are singularly learned; you are no match for them. I will go myself."

Deva said, "In order to trample down some rotten stems why should we overthrow a mountain? I am bold enough to think that by the instructions I have received I can silence all the heretics. But let my master assume the side of the heretics, and I will refute you according to the points of the thesis; and according as the question is decided, let my purpose to go or not be settled."

The Nagarjuna took the side of the heretics, and Deva set himself to overthrow his arguments. After seven days Nagarjuna lost his superiority (*was defeated*), and said with a sigh, "False positions are easily lost; erroneous doctrines are defended with difficulty. You yourself can go; you will overthrow those men."

Deva Bodhisattva's early reputation being known to the heretics of Vaisali, they forthwith called an assembly, and went at once to the king, saying, "Maharaja! you formerly condescended to attend to us and bind the Sramanas, not to sound the *ghanta*. We pray you issue an order that no foreign Sramana be allowed to enter the city, lest they should combine together to bring about an alteration in the former law." The king consented to their request, and gave strict orders to his officers to carry it out (*to spy narrowly*).

Deva having come to the city, was not able to enter it: having understood the order, he made arrangements to change his garments, and wrapped up his *kashaya* robe in a bundle of grass (*shrubs*); then tucking up his garments, he went straight on with his bundle on his back, and entered the city. Having come to the middle of the city, he threw away his grass bundle, put on his robes, and came to this *sangharama*, intending to stop there. Knowing few people there, he had no place to lodge, and so he took up his night's rest in the Ghanta Tower, and at early dawn he struck it (*the ghanta*) with all his might.

The people hearing it, on investigating the matter, found that the stranger of yesternight was a travelling Bhikshu. Forthwith all the *sangharamas* repeated the sounds (*of the ghanta*).

The king hearing the noise, and inquiring about it closely, could not ascertain the origin of it all; coming to this *sangharama*, they at length charged Deva with the deed. Deva answering said, "The *ghanta* is struck to assemble the congregation; if it is not used for that purpose, what use is it?"

The king's people answered, "In former days the congregation of priests having been defeated in argument, it was decided the *ghanta* should not be sounded any more, and this is twelve years since."

Deva said, "Is it so? Nevertheless, I venture to sound afresh the drum of the law."

The messenger told the king saying, "There is a strange Sramana who wishes to wipe out the former disgrace (of the priests)."

Then the king assembled the men of learning (the *Buddhists*), and said, by way of decree, "Whoever is defeated shall die, as a proof of his inferiority."

Then the heretics came together with their flags and drums, and began to discuss together with respect to their opinions: each displayed the point of his argument to his best ability. Then Deva Bodhisattva, having mounted the preaching-throne, attending to their former arguments, and following each point, refuted them one by one. In less than one hour he refuted the sectaries, and the king and his ministers being satisfied, raised this venerable monument in honour of his extreme virtue (*reverence*).

To the north of the *stupa* built where the *ghanta* was sounded is an old foundation. This was the dwelling-place of a Brahman that was inspired by demons. At the beginning there was in this city a Brahman who had constructed for himself a hut in a wild and desert spot far from the haunts of men; he sacrificed to demons, seeking religious merit. By the assistance of such spiritual connection he discoursed in a high tone and disputed with eagerness. The report (*echo*) of his eloquent discourses resounded through the world. If any one came to propose a difficult question, he answered him after letting down a curtain. Old men of learning and of high talent could not wrest from him his precedence. Officers and people were silenced in his presence, and looked on him as a saint. At this time lived Asvaghosha Bodhisattva (*O-shi-po-kiu-sha-pu-sa*).<sup>37</sup> His wisdom embraced all subjects, and in his career he had traversed the arguments of the three Vehicles (*Little, Great, and Middle Vehicle*?). He constantly spoke (*about the Brahman*) thus: "This Brahman is learned without a master; he is skilful without examining the ancients; he lives apart in the gloomy desert, and arrogates a great name. It is all done by the connivance of

<sup>37</sup> Translated into Chinese by *Ma-ming*, "the voice of the horse." For some remarks respecting him, see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 95 ss. He is spoken of as the twelfth Buddhist patriarch. According to Tibetan accounts, he is the same as Matrijeta (mother-child), who composed hymns for Buddhist worship (*op. cit.*, p. 141). Nagarjuna also was a poet, and composed a work called *Suhrid lekha* (or *likh*), which he dedicated to his patron, Sadvaha, king of Southern Kosala (*I-tsing*, k. iv. fol. 5 b.)

the evil spirits and the assistance of occult powers; this is the way he does it! Men, therefore, on account of his eloquence derived from the devil, are unable to reply, and exalt his renown and say he is invincible. I will go to his place, and see what all this means, and expose it."

Forthwith he went to his cabin and addressed him thus: "I have long felt respect for your illustrious qualities; pray keep up your curtain whilst I venture to express my mind to you." But the Brahman, maintaining an air of proud indifference, let down his curtain in order to reply, and to the end would not face his adversary.

Asvaghosha feeling in his heart the presence of the evil spirits, his feelings revolted, and he finished the discussion; but as he retired he said, "I have found him out, and he shall be overthrown." Going straightway to the king, he said, "Pray condescend to permit me to propose a subject and discuss it with that lay-doctor!"

The king, hearing the request, said with feeling, "Do you know your man? Unless well learned in the three *vidyas* and in the six supernatural faculties, who can discuss with him?" Giving permission, he himself ordered his chariot in order to be present during the discussion, and to decide as to the victory.

Then Asvaghosha discoursed on the minute words of the three *Pitakas*, and alluded to the great principles of the five *Vidyas*, and nicely divided the length and breadth of his argument with a high and various discourse. Then the Brahman following in the argument, Asvaghosha said, "You have lost the thread of the subject. You must follow my points consecutively."

The Brahman then was silent and closed his mouth.

Asvaghosha finding fault, said, "Why do you not solve the difficulty? Call the spirits to your help to give you words as quickly as you can;" and then he lifted up his curtain to see how he looked.

The Brahman, terrified, cried out, "Stop! stop!"

Asvaghosha, retiring, said, "This doctor has forfeited his high renown. 'A hollow fame lasts not long,' as the saying is."

The king answered and said, "Without the eminent ability of a master, who can detect the errors of the ignorant! The acumen of the person who knows men casts honour on his ancestors, and shuts out possibility of superiority among his successors. The country has a standing rule that such a person should ever be honoured and remembered."

Leaving the south-west angle of the city and going about 200 li,<sup>38</sup> there is an old ruined *sangharama*, by the side of which

<sup>38</sup> In the French translation the distance given is 200 *paces*. The text does not require the distance of 200 li to be reckoned in a south-

is a *stupa* which from time to time reflects a divine light and displays many miracles. This place is frequented by crowds from a distance and near by, who offer up their prayers<sup>39</sup> in worship. There are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked to and fro.

To the south-west of the old *sangharama* about 100 li is the *Sangharama* of Tiladaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia).<sup>40</sup> This building has four halls, belvideres of three stages, high towers, connected at intervals with double gates that open inwards (*deeply*). It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisara-*raja* (Pin-pi-sha-lo).<sup>41</sup> He made much of high talent and exalted the virtuous. Learned men from different cities and scholars from distant countries flock together in crowds, and reaching so far, abide in this *sangharama*. There are 1000 priests in it who study the Great Vehicle. In the road facing the middle gate there are three *viharas*, above which are placed the connected succession of metal rings (*circles*) with bells suspended in the air; below they are constructed storey above storey, from the bottom to the top. They are surrounded by railings, and the doors, windows, the pillars, beams, and staircases are all carved with gilt copper in relief, and in the intervals highly decorated. The middle *vihara* contains an erect image of Buddha about thirty feet high. On the left is an image of Tara (*To-lo*) Bodhisattava;<sup>42</sup> on

westerly direction from the city; the construction, indeed, is unusual, and it is possible that the symbol *yu* (corner) is an error for *hing* (going); but as it stands, the text reads, "about two hundred li (from) the south-west angle of the city there is," &c. If the text be correct, some of the difficulties noticed by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 456) will be explained.

<sup>39</sup> Make their requests in worship. Whatever the theory is as to the possibility of prayer in the Buddhist religion, the fact remains that prayer was offered up.

<sup>40</sup> So Cunningham restores it. And the symbol *shi* may represent *da* as in Chandaka. It might also be made to represent Darsika, and as the last descendant of Bimbisara-*raja* was Naga-dasaka, I thought at one time that this might be the right restoration. But I-tsing gives *Ti-lo-ch'i* as an alternative reading (*Nan hae*, k. iv. 12 b.), which can only represent Tilada (as in *Man ch'a* for *Mandaka*, &c.) This monastery of Tiladaka was three *yojanas* west of Nalanda, or about twenty-one miles (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 211). In this last passage Hiuen Tsiang notices that there was an eminent priest called Prajnabhadrā residing in this monastery when he visited it. When I-tsing was there a few years later, there was a priest called Prajnachandra there. Max Muller by some mistake has placed this temple of Tiladaka in Surat (*India*, p. 312), and he speaks of it as *Si-ra-chu*, but it is not so in I-tsing.

<sup>41</sup> Or Vimbasara, juice of the *Bimba'* (*Bryonia grandis*), (see *ante.*, his descendant Nagadasaka, who appears to have preceded the nine Nandas; he seems to be the same as Maha-Nandin. Conf. R. David's *Numis. Orient.*, pp. 50 and 45. Is he the same as Kalasoka? Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 859, and *Anh.*, p. xxxviii.

<sup>42</sup> Tara, said to be a female deity of Tibetan origin, worshipped by the followers of the Yogachara school (Eitel). Taravati is also a form of Durga. *Ind. Art.*, vol. x. p. 273.



the right, one of Avalokitesvara (Kwan-taz'-tsai) Bodhisattva. Each of these images is made of metallic stone; their spiritually composed appearance inspires a mysterious awe, and their influence is felt from far (*or*, spreads far). In each *vihara* there is a measure of relics which emit a supernatural brilliancy, and from time to time shed forth miraculous indications.

To the south-west of the Tiladaka *sangharama* about 90 li we come to a great mountain of blue-clouded (*variegated*) marble,<sup>43</sup> dark and tangled with wood. Here the divine Rishis dwell; poisonous snakes and savage dragons inhabit their dens, whilst numerous beasts and birds of prey dwell in the forests. On the top is a large and remarkable rock, on which is built a *stupa* about ten feet or so high. This is the place where Buddha entered on ecstatic meditation. Of old, when Tathagata descended as a spirit (*to be born*),<sup>44</sup> he rested on this rock, and entered here the *samadhi* called "perfectly destroyed," and passed the night so. Then the Devas and spiritual saints offered their offerings to Tathagata, and sounded the drums and heavenly music, and rained down great flowers. Tathagata leaving his ecstasy, the Devas all revered him, and raised a *stupa* composed of gold, silver, and precious stones. Now so long time has elapsed since then, that the precious substances are changed into stone. No one has visited the spot for ages; but looking at the mountain from a distance, one can see different kinds of beasts and snakes turning round it to the right. The Devas and Rishis and spiritual saints accompany them in a body, praising and worshipping.

On the eastern summit of the mountain there is a *stupa*. Here Tathagata formerly stood for a time beholding the country of Magadha.

To the north-west of the mountain 30 li or so, on a declivity of the mountain, is a *sangharama*; it is flanked by a high precipice, and the lofty walls and towers stand up in intervals of the rocks. The priests are about fifty in number, who all study the great Vehicle. This is the place where Gunamati (Kiu-na-mo-ti) Bodhisattva overcame the heretic. In the early time there was in this mountain a heretic called Madhava (Mo-ta-po), who at first followed the law of the Sankhya (Seng-kie) system, and practised the acquirement of wisdom. He had studied to the bottom the doctrine of "the extreme void," as found in the orthodox and erroneous (*books*). His fame was

<sup>43</sup> *Yun shih* is "variegated marble" (cloud-stone). Whether this be the meaning in the text it is difficult to say. Julien gives "enveloped with dark clouds." This may be so; the original is literally, "cloud-rock-dark-tangled."

<sup>44</sup> The phrase *Kiang shin*, descend spiritually, is generally applied to the incarnation of Buddha; in this passage, however, it may simply mean "descended as a spirit."



great, and surpassed that of former teachers, and outweighed all then living. The king honoured him exceedingly, and named him "the treasure of the country." The ministers and people regarded him with admiration, and spoke of him as "the teacher of the household." The learned men of the neighbouring countries acknowledged his merits and honoured his virtue, and compared him to the most eminent of his predecessors; a man, verily! highly accomplished. He had as his means of subsistence two towns of the district, and the surrounding houses paid him for the privilege of building (*tenant dues*?).

At this time in Southern India there lived Gunamati<sup>45</sup> Bodhisattva, who in his youth had displayed great talents and acquired in early life a brilliant reputation. By close study he had penetrated the meaning of the three *Pitakas*, and investigated the four truths.<sup>46</sup> Hearing that Madhava discussed on the most mysterious and subtle questions, he desired to humble him by overcoming him (*in argument*). He ordered one of his followers to carry a letter thus written (*to his adversary*): "I have heard with all respect of Madhava's virtuous ease. You must now, without thought of fatigue, take up again your ancient studies, for in three years' time I intend to overthrow your brilliant reputation."

And so in the second and third years he sent a messenger with the same tidings; and now when he was about to go to meet him, he again wrote a letter, saying: "The appointed period has expired; your studies, such as they are, I am now coming (*to investigate*); you ought to know the fact."

Madhava now was alarmed, and gave orders to his disciples and to the inhabitants of the towns:<sup>47</sup> "From this time forth give no hospitality to the Sramana heretics; let this order be generally known and obeyed."

At this time Gunamati Bodhisattva, with his staff in hand, arrived at the town of Madhava. The people who guarded the town, in agreement to the order, would give him no hospitality.<sup>48</sup> The Brahmans, moreover, deriding him, said, "What mean you by your shaven head and your singular dress? Begone from this! there is no place here for you to stop."

Gunamati Bodhisattva desiring to overthrow the heretic, sought to remain the night in the town, and so he said with gentle words, "You, in pursuing your worldly studies, observe

<sup>45</sup> Translated by the Chinese "virtue and wisdom" (*Tih hwui*).

<sup>46</sup> The four truths, the foundation of the Buddhist dogma, are—(1) the truth of "suffering" (*dukkha*); (2) the increase or accumulation of misery from the passions (*samudaya*); (3) the extinction or destruction of suffering is possible (*nirodha*); (4) the way or means (*marga*). See Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub voc. *Ariyasacāma*; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 517; *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 496; also Julien *in loco*. n. 1.

<sup>47</sup> That is, the two towns he held in feoffment.

<sup>48</sup> Would have no intercourse with him.

a pure conduct. I also, in studying higher truth, observe a pure line of conduct.<sup>49</sup> Our life being alike,<sup>50</sup> why do you exclude me ? ”

But the Brahmans would have no words with him, and only drove him from the place. Leaving the town, he went into a great forest in which savage beasts prowled about to destroy all passers-by. At this time there was a faithful brother<sup>51</sup> who, fearing (*the risk he ran from*) the beasts and the prickly thorns, hastened to him, staff in hand. Having met him, he said to the Bodhisattava, “In Southern India there is a Bodhisattava called Gunamati, of far-spread renown ; because this man wants to come here to discuss principles of belief, the master of the town, being afraid of him and his fame, has strictly enjoined to give no shelter to the Sramanas, and because I am afraid lest some accident should happen to him, I have come to accompany him in his journey, and to assure him of safety (*that he may rest free from fear of the other*).”

Gunamati replied, “Most kind believer, I am Gunamati.” The disciple having heard this, with the greatest reverence replied to Gunamati thus: “If what you say be true, you must go quickly (*onwards*).” Leaving the deep forest, he stopped awhile on the open plain ; the faithful beleiever, following with his torch (?) and holding his bow, kept guard on the right and left. The (*first*) division of the night being past, he addressed Gunamati and said, “It is better for us to go, lest men, knowing that you have come, should plot together to kill you.”

Gunamati, expressing his gratitude, said, “I dare not disobey you!” On this, following him, they came to the king’s palace and said to the door-keeper, there is a Sramana here who has come from a distance ; he prays the king to agree in condescension to permit him to discuss with Madhava.

The king hearing the news, moved by his feelings, said, “This man is bereft of reason,” and then he ordered an officer to go to the place where Madhava was, with this royal order: “There is a foreign Sramana come here who seeks to discuss with you. I have now ordered the hall for the discussion to be prepared and watered ; I have told those in the neighbourhood and far off to await the usual arrangements after your coming. Pray condescend to come forthwith.”

Madhava asked the messenger of the king, “This surely is the doctor Gunamati of South India.” “Yes,” he said, “it is he.”

Madhava hearing this, his heart was very sad, but as he

<sup>49</sup> They were both men of “pure conduct.” The expression “pure brother” is applied to the Buddhist convert. The word Brahman also is explained by “a pure-lived man.”

<sup>50</sup> As we both aim at pure conduct.

<sup>51</sup> A pure believer.

could not well avoid the difficulty, he set out for the hall of discussion, where the king, the ministers, and the people were all assembled desiring to hear this great controversy. Gunamati first laid down the principles of his school, and continued his speech till the setting of the sun. Then Madhava excusing himself on account of his age and infirmities, to defer his answer, asked permission to retire and meditate. He would then return and answer every objection (*difficulty*) in order.<sup>52</sup> At the early morn he returned and ascended the throne, and so they went on to the sixth day, but on that day he vomited blood and died. When on the point of death he gave this command to his wife, "You have high talent; do not forget the affront paid to me." When Madhava was dead, she concealed the fact and had no funeral ceremonies; and clothing herself in shining apparel, she entered forthwith the assembly where the discussion was held, and a general clamour was raised as the people said one to another, "Madhava, who boasted of his talents, is unable to reply to Gunamati, and so he sends his wife to make up for his deficiency."

Gunamati, addressing the wife, said, "He who could bind you, has been bound by me."

Madhava's wife, seeing the difficulty, retired. The king then said, "What secret words are these at which she remains silent?"

Gunamati said, "Alas! Madhava is dead! and his wife desires to come and discuss with me!"

The king said, "How know you this? Pray explain it to me."

Then Gunamati said, "When the wife came her face was pale as death, and her words were toned in bitter enmity. I knew therefore that Madhava is dead! 'Able to bind you,' is a phrase applicable to her husband."

The king having sent a messenger to verify the statement, he found it even so; then the king in gratitude said, "The law of Buddha is a mysterious one! Eminent sages succeed one another without interruption; with no personal object they guard themselves in wisdom and use their secret knowledge for the purpose of converting (*transforming the world*). According to the old rules of the country the praises of such a sage (*or*, of your virtue) should be ever celebrated."

Gunamati replied, "Whatever poor talents I have I reserve them for the benefit of all that lives; and when I would draw them to the truth first of all I subdue their pride, then use the influences of converting power. Now then, in this case, O king, let the descendants of Madhava's territory for a thousand

<sup>52</sup> This sentence appears to be parenthetical, and is introduced to explain the language used by Gunamati.

generation employ themselves in the service of a *sangharama*. Your instructions will extend, then, from age to age, and your reputation will be immortal. Persons of a pure faith, conscious of protection, their religious merit will benefit the country for ages. They will be nourished as the priests are, and so the faithful will be encouraged to honour their virtue."

On this he founded the *sangharama* to celebrate the victory.

At first, after the defeat of Madhava, six Brahmans (*pure-lived men*), fleeing to the frontiers, told the heretics of the reverse they had suffered, and they selected men of eminent talent with a view hereafter to wipe out their disgrace.

The king having a sincere respect for Gunamati, went in person, and addressed the following invitation to him: "Now the heretics, not measuring their strength aright, have plotted together, and dare to sound the drum of discussion. Pray, sir, condescend to crush these heretics."

Gunamati replied, "Let those who wish to discuss come together!"

Then the learned men among the heretics were rejoiced, and said, "We shall be sure of the victory to-day!" The heretics then laid down their principles with energy for the purpose of opening the discussion.

Gunamati Bodhisattva replied, "Now those heretics who fled from the difficulty they were in of obeying the king's command, these are mean men. What have I to do to discuss with and answer such persons?" Then he added, "There is a young servant here by the pulpit who has been accustomed to listen to these discussions. He is well acquainted with abstract questions from attending by my side and listening to the high language of the disputants."

Then Gunamati, leaving the pulpit, said to the servant, "Take my place, and carry on the discussion." Then all the assembly was moved with astonishment at this extraordinary proceeding. But the servant, sitting by the pulpit, immediately proceeded to examine the difficulties proposed. His arguments were clear like the water that wells from the fountain, and his points were true as the sound of the echo. After three replies the heretics were defeated, and once more they were obliged to hide their disgrace and clip their wings. From this time forth the *sangharama* enjoyed the endowment of the town and dwellings.

South-west of the convent of Gunamati about 20 li we come to a solitary hill on which is a convent called (the *sangharama* of) Silabhadra (Shi-lo-po-t'o-lo).<sup>53</sup> This is the convent which the master of *sastras* after his victory caused to be built out of the

<sup>53</sup> In Chinese, Kiai-hien, "the sage of moral conduct."

funds of a village which were given up. It stands by the side of a single sharp crag like a *stupa*. It contains some sacred relics of Buddha. This master of *sastras* belonged to the family of the king of Samatata (San-mo-ta-ch'a), and was of the Brahman caste. He loved learning and had gained a wide reputation. Travelling through the Indies to examine into and seek after religious truth, he came to this kingdom, and in the *sangharama* of Nalanda (Na-lan-t'o) he encountered Dharmapala Bodhisattva (Hu-fa-pu-sa). Hearing him explain the law, his understanding was opened, and he requested to become a disciple.<sup>54</sup> He inquired into the most subtle questions,<sup>55</sup> and investigated the way of deliverance to its conclusion; and thus having reached the highest point of intelligence, he established his fame over men of his time, even to distant countries.

There was a heretic of South India who delighted in examining profound questions and searching out hidden matters, in penetrating obscure and abstruse points of doctrine. Hearing of Dharmapala's fame, the pride of self rose up within him, and, moved by profound envy, he passed over mountains and rivers in order to sound the drum<sup>56</sup> and seek discussion. He said, "I am a man of Southern India. It is reported that in the king's country there is a great master of *sastras*;<sup>57</sup> I am but ignorant, yet I would wish to discuss with him."

"It is true, as you affirm," the king said; and forthwith he sent a messenger to ask Dharmapala thus: "There is a heretic of Southern India who has come from a long distance here, and desires to discuss with you. Will you condescend to come to the hall of assembly and discuss with him?"

<sup>54</sup> To assume the soiled or coloured robes of a mendicant.

<sup>55</sup> He inquired as to "the extreme point of the end of all." This idea of "a terminal fixed point of all things" (*yih-tsai-sse kau-keng kin-ku*) corresponds to the Sanskrit *dhruva*, and may be rendered "final truth." It is the name of a Samadhi; it is also used as a definition of *Nirvana*; it is the formal definition of the title of a well-known Buddhist *sutra*, the *Surangama*. In this connection it denotes the investigation of the highest (mystical) truth. This *sutra* was written at Nalanda; it was probably the work of Dharmapala (it must not be confused with another work of the same name translated by Kumarajiva, and recited by Fa-hian at the Vulture Peak near Rajagriha); it was brought to China and translated A.D. 705. In the commentary (k. viii. fol. 30 b) it is said, "This *sutra* was brought from India and belongs to the Murdhabhishikta school (*Kun teng pu*). According to Colebrooke (Essays, p. 272), the Murdhabhishiktas were a mixed class sprung from a Brahmana and a Kshatriya girl. The school named, therefore, was probably founded on a mixture of Brahman and Buddhist doctrine. Now Nalanda was especially a place of study both for the Brahmanical and Buddhist books (Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 289). This school, therefore, probably originated there.

<sup>56</sup> To sound the drum is an expression for a challenge to discuss the law.

<sup>57</sup> *Ta lun sse*, explained by Julien (elsewhere) to be equivalent to *Mahavadi*.

Dharmapala having heard the tidings, gathered up his garments and went, whilst Silabhadra and the inferior disciples surrounded him as he advanced. Then Silabhadra (the chief disciple) addressed him thus: "Whither goest thou so quickly?" Dharmapala answered, "Since the sun of wisdom went down,<sup>58</sup> and only the lamp of the inherited doctrine burns quietly, the heretics like clouds of ants and bees have risen; therefore I am now going to crush that one in discussion."

Silabhadra said, "As I have myself attended at various discussions, let me destroy this heretic." Dharmapala, knowing his history, allowed him to have his way.

At this time Silabhadra was just thirty years old. The assembly, despising his youth, feared that it would be difficult for him alone to undertake the discussion. Dharmapala knowing that the mind of his followers was disturbed, hastened to relieve them and said, "In honouring the conspicuous talent of a person we do not say, 'He has cut his teeth' (*count his years according to his teeth*). As I see the case before us now, I feel sure that he will defeat the heretic; he is strong enough."

On the day of discussion (*assembly for discussion*) the people came together from far and near; both old and young in numbers assembled. Then the heretical teacher on his part laid open his case with great emphasis, and penetrated to the utmost the abstruse points (*of his argument*). Silabhadra followed his arguments (*principles*), and refuted them by profound and subtle allegations. The heretic, his words being exhausted, was covered with shame and retired.

The king, in order to reward the virtue (*of Silabhadra*), gave him the revenues of this town as a bequest. The master of *sastras*, declining the offer, said, "A master who wears the garments of religion (*dyed garments*) knows how to be contented with little and to keep himself pure. What would he do with a town?"

The king in reply said, "The King of the law has passed into the obscure (*abode*), and the vessel of wisdom has been engulfed in the stream. If there are no distinctions now made (*between the learned and ignorant*) then no encouragement is given to the scholar to press forward in the attainment of religion. Pray, of your pity, accept my offering."

The doctor, not persisting in his refusal, accepted the town and built this *sangharama*, vast and magnificent, and endowed it with the revenues of the town,<sup>59</sup> as a means of providing it with the offerings necessary for religious service.

<sup>58</sup> That is, since the death of Buddha.

<sup>59</sup> Of the houses of the town. I understand it to mean the revenues of the *sangharama* were derived from the rentals of the place; not that the people or the inhabitants were bound to the service of the priests.



Going to the south-west of the *sangharama* of Silabhadra about 40 or 50 li, and crossing the Nairanjana<sup>60</sup> river we come to the town of Gaya.<sup>61</sup> This town is naturally strong (*situated amid crags or precipices*). It has but few inhabitants; there are about 1000 families of Brahmans only; they are the offspring (*successors*) of a Rishi. The king does not regard them as vassals and the people everywhere highly respect them.

To the north of the town 30 li or so there is a pure fountain of water. The tradition handed down in India is that it is called "holy water;" all who bathe or drink thereof are cleansed from whatever defilement of sin they have.

To the south-west of the town 5 or 6 li we come to Mount Gaya (Kia-ye), with its sombre valley, streams, and steep and dangerous crags. In India the name commonly given to this is the divine (*spiritual*) mountain. From old days it has been the custom for the ruling sovereign when he comes to the throne, with a view to conciliate his subjects at a distance and to cause his renown to exceed previous generations, to ascend (*this mountain*) and declare his succession with accompanying ceremonies (*religious ceremonies*). On the top of the mountain is a *stupa* about 100 feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. Divine prodigies are exhibited by it, and a sacred effulgency often shines from it. In old days Tathagata here delivered the *P'ao-yun*<sup>62</sup> and other *sutras*.

To the south-east of Mount Gaya is a *stupa*. This is the spot where Kasyapa (Kia-she-po) was born. To the south of this *stupa* are two others. These are the spots where Gayakasyapa (Kia-ye-kia-she-po) and Nadikasyapa (Nai-ti-kia-she-po) sacrificed as fire-worshippers.<sup>63</sup>

To the east of the place where Gayakasyapa sacrificed to fire, crossing a great river, we come to a mountain called Pragbodhi (Po-lo-ki-po-ti).<sup>64</sup> Tathagata, after diligently seeking for six years and not yet obtaining supreme wisdom, after this gave up his penance and accepted the rice-milk (*of Sujata*). As

<sup>60</sup> This river is now called Phalgu; the name Lilajan or Nilanjana is confined to the western branch, which joins the Mohani five miles above Gaya (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 457).

<sup>61</sup> Now called Brahma-Gaya to distinguish it from Bauddha-Gaya, the place where Buddha reached enlightenment. The distance from Patna to Gaya is 60 miles by the highroad, about 70 by the route of Hiuen Tsiang. We do not know the direction of the "old convent," 200 li from Patna, and therefore cannot test the correctness of Hiuen Tsiang's figures.

<sup>62</sup> Restored to *Ratnamegha Sutra* by Julien.

<sup>63</sup> For an account of the three Kasyapas and their conversion see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 16, vv. 1304 ss. For the scene of the "fire grot" see *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxiv. fig. 1.

<sup>64</sup> In Chinese *Tsin-ching-kio-shan*, i.e., "the mountain leading to (before) perfect intelligence." When Tathagata was about to attain to enlightenment he first ascended this mountain; hence the name.



he went to the north-east he saw this mountain that it was secluded and dark, whereupon he desired to seek enlightenment thereon. Ascending the northeast slope and coming to the top, the earth shook and the mountain quaked, whilst the mountain Deva in terror spake thus to Bodhisattva: "This mountain is not the fortunate spot for attaining supreme wisdom. If here you stop and engage in the '*Samadhi* of diamond,'<sup>65</sup> the earth will quake and gape and the mountain be overthrown upon you."

Then Bodhisattva descended, and half-way down the south-west slope he halted. There, backed by the crag and facing a torrent, is a great stone chamber. Here he sat down cross-legged. Again the earth quaked and the mountain shook. Then a Deva of the pure abode (*Suddhavasas*) cried out in space, "This is not the place for a Tathagata to perfect supreme wisdom. From this south-west 14 or 15 li, not far from the place of penance, there is a *Pippala* (*Pi-po-lo*) tree under which is 'a diamond throne.'<sup>66</sup> All the past Buddhas seated on this throne have obtained true enlightenment, and so will those yet to come. Pray, then, proceed to that spot."<sup>67</sup>

Then Bodhisattva, rising up, the dragon dwelling in the cave said, "This cave is pure and excellent. Here you may accomplish the holy (*aim*). Would that of your exceeding love you would not leave me."

Then Bodhisattva having discovered that this was not the place for accomplishing his aim, to appease the dragon, he left his shadow and departed. The Devas going before, led the way, and accompanied him to the *Bodhi* tree. When Asoka-*raja* came into power, he signalled each spot up and down this mountain which Bodhisattva had passed, by erecting distinguishing posts and *stupas*. These, though of different sizes, yet are alike in spiritual manifestations. Sometimes flowers fall on them from heaven; sometimes a bright light illumines the dark valleys. Every year, on the day of breaking up the season of *Wass* (*Varshas*), religious laymen from different countries ascend this mountain for the purpose of making religious offerings to the faithful. They stop one night and return.

Going south-west from Mount Pragbodhi about 14 or 15 li, we come to the *Bodhi* tree. It is surrounded by a brick wall (*a wall of piled bricks*) of considerable height, steep and strong. It is long from east to west, and short from north to south. It is about 500 paces round. Rare trees with their

<sup>65</sup> *Vajra samadhi*; because it penetrates all conditions of being (*fa*).

<sup>66</sup> *Vajrasana*, an imperishable throne. It was supposed to be the centre of the earth, and the spot where all the Buddhas arrived at complete wisdom.

<sup>67</sup> The whole of this passage is spoken by the Deva. Julien translates it differently.

renowned flowers connect their shade and cast their shadows; the delicate *sha*<sup>68</sup> herb and different shrubs carpet the soil. The principal gate opens to the east, opposite the Nairanjana river. The southern gate adjoins a great flowery bank. The western side is blocked up and difficult of access (*steep and strong*). The northern gate opens into the great *sangharama*. Within the surrounding wall the sacred traces touch one another in all directions. Here there are *stupas*, in another place *viharas*. The kings, princes, and great personages throughout all Jambudvīpa, who have accepted the bequeathed teaching as handed down to them, have erected these monuments as memorials.

In the middle of the enclosure surrounding the *Bodhi* tree is the diamond throne (*Vajrasana*). In former days, when the Bhadrakalpa was arriving at the period of perfection (*vivartta*), when the great earth arose, this (*throne*) also appeared. It is in the middle of the great *chillocosm*; it goes down to the limits of the golden wheel (*the gold circle*), and upwards it is flush with the ground. It is composed of diamond. In circuit it is 100 paces or so. On this the thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa have sat and entered the diamond *Samadhi*; hence the name of the diamond throne. It is the place where the Buddhas attain the holy path (*the sacred way of Buddhahood*). It is also called the *Bodhimanda*. When the great earth is shaken, this place alone is unmoved. Therefore when Tathagata was about to reach the condition of enlightenment, and he went successively to the four angles of this enclosure, the earth shook and quaked; but afterwards coming to this spot, all was still and at rest. From the time of entering on the concluding portion of the kalpa, when the true law dies out and disappears, the earth and dust begin to cover over this spot, and it will be no longer visible.

After the *Nirvana* of Buddha, the rulers of the different countries having learned by tradition the measurement of the diamond throne, decided the limits from north to south by two figures of Kwan-tsz'-tsai (Avalokitesvara) Bodhisattva, there seated and looking eastward.

The old people say that "as soon as the figures of this Bodhisattva sink in the ground and disappear, the law of Buddha will come to an end." The figure at the south angle is now buried up to its breast. The *Bodhi* tree above the diamond throne is the same as the *Pippala* tree. In old days, when Buddha was alive, it was several hundred feet high. Although it has often been injured by cutting, it still is 40 or 50 feet in height. Buddha sitting under this tree reached perfect wisdom, and therefore it is called the (*Samyak sambodhi*) tree of knowledge (*Pu-ti-Bodhi*). The bark is of a yellowish-white

<sup>68</sup> The *Sha* 'so is the *Cyperus iria* of Linnæus (*Doolittle's Handbook*, ii. 432).

colour, the leaves and twigs of a darg green. The leaves wither not either in winter or summer, but they remain shining and glistening all the year round without change. But at every successive *Nirvana-day* (of the *Buddhas*) the leaves wither and fall, and then in a moment revive as before. On this day (of the *Nirvana*?) the princes of different countries and the religious multitude from different quarters assemble by thousands and ten thousands unbidden, and bathe (the roots) with scented water and perfumed milk; whilst they raise the sounds of music and scatter flowers and perfumes, and whilst the light of day is continued by the burning torches, they offer their religious gifts.

After the *Nirvana* of Tathagata, when Asoka-raja began to reign, he was an unbeliever (a *believer in heresy*), and he desired to destroy the bequeathed traces of Buddha; so he raised an army, and himself taking the lead, he came here for the purpose of destroying (the tree). He cut through the roots; the trunk, branches, and leaves were all divided into small bits and heaped up in a pile a few tens of paces to the west of the place. Then he ordered a Brahman who sacrificed to fire to burn them in the discharge of his religious worship. Scarcely had the smoke cleared away, when lo! a double tree burst forth from the flaming fire, and because the leaves and branches were shining like feathers, it was called the "ashes bodhi tree." Asoka-raja, seeing the miracle, repented of his crime. He bathed the roots (of the old tree) with perfumed milk to fertilise them, when lo! on the morning of the next day, the tree sprang up as before. The king, seeing the miraculous portent, was overpowered with deep emotion, and himself offered religious gifts, and was so overjoyed that he forgot to return (to the palace). The queen, who was an adherent of the heretics, sent secretly a messenger, who, after the first division of night, once more cut it down. Asoka-raja in the morning coming again to worship at the tree, seeing only the mutilated trunk, was filled with exceeding grief. With the utmost sincerity he prayed as he worshipped; he bathed the roots with perfumed milk, and in less than a day again the tree was restored. The king, moved by deep reverence at the prodigy, surrounded the tree with a stone (brick) wall above 10 feet, which still remains visible. In late times Sasanka-raja (She-shang-kia), being a believer in heresy, slandered the religion of Buddha, and through envy destroyed the convents and cut down the *Bodhi* tree, digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but yet he did not get to the bottom of the roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of the sugarcane, desiring to destroy it entirely, and not leave a trace of it behind.

Some months afterwards, the king of Magadha, called Purnavarma (Pu-la-na-fa-mo), the last of the race of Asoka-raja, hearing of it, sighed and said, "The sun of wisdom having set,

nothing is left but the tree of Buddha, and this they now have destroyed, what source of spiritual life is there now?" He then cast his body on the ground overcome with pity; then with the milk of a thousand cows he again bathed the roots of the tree, and in a night it once more revived and grew to the height of some 10 feet. Fearing lest it should be again cut down, he surrounded it with a wall of stone 24 feet high. So the tree is now encircled with a wall about 20 feet high.

To the east of the *Bodhi* tree there is a *vihara* about 160 or 170 feet high. Its lower foundation-wall is 20 or more paces in its face. The building (*pile*) is of blue tiles (*bricks*) covered with *chunam* (*burnt stone, lime*); all the niches in the different storeys hold golden figures.<sup>69</sup> The four sides of the building are covered with wonderful ornamental work; in one place figures of stringed pearls (*garlands*), in another figures of heavenly Rishis. The whole is surrounded by a gilded copper *Amalaka* fruit.<sup>70</sup> The eastern face adjoins a storeyed pavilion, the projecting eaves of which rise one over the other to the height of three distinct chambers; its projecting eaves, its pillars, beams, doors, and windows are decorated with gold and silver ornamental work, with pearls and gems let in to fill up interstices. Its sombre chambers and mysterious halls have doors in each of the three storeys. To the right and left of the outside gate are niches like chambers; in the left is a figure of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva, and in the right a figure of Maitreya (T'se-shi) Bodhisattva. They are made of white silver, and are about 10 feet high. On the site of the present *vihara* Asoja-rajā at first built a small *vihara*. Afterwards there was a Brahman who reconstructed it on a larger scale. At first this Brahman was not a believer in the law of Buddha, and sacrificed to Mahesvara. Having heard that this heavenly spirit (*god*) dwelt in the Snowy Mountains, he forthwith went there with his younger brother to seek by prayer (*his wishes*). The Deva said, "Those who pray should aim to acquire some extensive religious merit. If you who pray have not this ground (*of merit*), then neither can I grant what you pray for."

The Brahman said, "What meritorious work can I set about, to enable me to obtain my desire?"

The god said, "If you wish to plant a superior root (*growth*) of merit, then seek a superior field (*in which to acquire it*). The *Bodhi* tree is the place for attaining the fruit of a Buddha. You should straightway return there, and by the *Bodhi* tree erect a large *vihara*, and excavate a large tank, and devote all kinds of religious offerings (*to the service*). You will then surely obtain your wishes."

<sup>69</sup> There is no mention made of "figures of Buddha."

<sup>70</sup> *Myrobolan-emblic*; it is also called "a precious pitcher" or "a precious gourd." But see not at end of this Book.

The Brahmins having received the divine communication, conceived a believing heart, and they both returned to the place. The elder brother built the *vihara*, the younger excavated the tank, and then they prepared large religious offerings and sought with diligence their heart's desire (*vow*). The result followed at once. The Brahmin became the great minister of the king. He devoted all his emoluments to the work of charity. Having finished the *vihara*, he invited the most skillful artists to make a figure (*likeness*) of Tathagata when he first reached the condition of Buddha. Years and months passed without result; on one answered the appeal. At length there was a Brahmin who came and addressed the congregation thus: "I will thoroughly execute (*paint and mark*) the excellent figure (*or distinguishing points*) of Tathagata."

They replied, "For the purpose of doing this, what do you require?"

"Place in the *vihara* a pile of scented earth and a lighted lamp; then when I have gone in, fasten the doors. After six months you may open them again."

Then the priests did as he directed. After four months, the six not being passed, the priests being astonished at the strange circumstance, opened the door to see what had happened. In the *vihara* they found a beautiful figure of Buddha in a sitting position, the right foot uppermost, the left hand resting, the right hand hanging down. He was sitting facing the east, and as dignified in appearance as when alive. The throne was 4 feet 2 inches high, and 12 feet 5 inches broad. The figure was 11 feet 5 inches high; the two knees were 8 feet 8 inches apart, and the two shoulders 6 feet 2 inches. The signs and marks (*of a Buddha*) were perfectly drawn. The loving expression of his face was like life, only above his right breast the material was not yet completely rounded off. Having seen no man, they were satisfied that this was a miracle, and all of them were filled with strong emotion (*piteously sighed*) as they diligently sought to find out the secret (*earnestly inquired in order to know*). Now there was a Sramana who was passing the night there. He was of an honest and truthful heart, and being affected by the circumstances (*just related*), he had a dream, in which he saw the forementioned Brahmin, who addressed him thus: "I am Maitreya Bodhisattava. Fearing that the mind of no artist could conceive the beauty of the sacred features, therefore I myself have come to paint and delineate the figure of Buddha. His right hand hangs down<sup>71</sup> in token that when he was about to reach the fruit of a Buddha, and the enticing Mara came to fascinate him, then the earth-spirits came to tell him thereof. The first who came forth advanced to help Buddha to resist Mara, to whom Tathagata

<sup>71</sup> This is the *Bhumisparsa mudra*.

said, 'Fear not! By the power of patience he must be subdued!' Mara-*raja* said, 'Who will bear witness for you?' Tathagata dropped his hand and pointed to the ground, saying, 'Here is my witness.' On this a second earth-spirit leapt forth to bear witness (*to testify*). Therefore the present figure is so drawn, in imitation of the old posture of Buddha."

The brethren having understood this sacred miracle (*spiritual reflection*), were all moved with a tender emotion, and they placed above the breast, where the work was as yet unfinished, a necklace of precious stones and jewels, whilst on the head they placed a diadem of encircling gems, exceedingly rich.

Sasanka-*raja* having cut down the *Bodhi* tree, wished to destroy this image; but having seen its loving features, his mind had no rest or determination, and he returned with his retinue homewards. On his way he said to one of his officers, "We must remove that statue of Buddha and place there a figure of Mahesvara."

The officer having received the order, was moved with fear, and, sighing, said, "If I destroy the figure of Buddha, then during successive kalpas I shall reap misfortune; if I disobey the king, he will put me to a cruel death and destroy my family; in either case, whether I obey or disobey, such will be the consequences; what, then, shall I do?"

On this he called to his presence a man with a believing heart (*i.e., a believer in Buddha*) to help him, and sent him to build up across the chamber and before the figure of Buddha a wall of brick. The man, from a feeling of shame at the darkness, placed a burning lamp (*with the concealed figure*); then on the interposing wall he drew a figure of (*or, he made a figure of*)<sup>72</sup> Mahesvara-deva.

The work being finished, he reported the matter. The king hearing it, was seized with terror; his body produced sores and his flesh rotted off, and after a short while he died. Then the officer quickly ordered the intervening wall to be pulled down again, when, although several days had elapsed, the lamp was still found to be burning (*unextinguished*).

The figure still exists in its perfect state as it was made by the sacred art of the god. It stands in a dark chamber; lamps and torches are kept burning therein; but those who wish to see the sacred features cannot do so by coming into the chamber; they should in the morning reflect the sunlight by means of a great mirror on the interior of the room; the sacred marks may then be seen. Those who behold them find their religious emotions much increased. Tathagata obtained complete

<sup>72</sup> Julien. thinks a translation should be adopted that would apply equally to a statue or a picture.



enlightenment (*Samyak sambodhi*) on the eighth day of the latter half of the Indian month Vaisakha (Fei-she-kie), which is with us the eighth day of the third month. But the Sthavira school (Shang-tso-pu) say on the fifteenth day of the second half of Vaisakha, which corresponds with us to the fifteenth day of the third month. Tathagata was then thirty years old, or, according to others, thirty-five years.

To the north of the *Bodhi* tree is a spot where Buddha walked up and down. When Tathagata had obtained enlightenment, he did not rise from the throne, but remained perfectly quiet for seven days, lost in contemplation. Then rising, he walked up and down during seven days to the north of the tree; he walked there east and west for a distance of ten paces or so. Miraculous flowers sprang up under his foot-traces to the number of eighteen. Afterwards this space was covered in by a brick wall about three feet high. According to the old belief, these holy traces thus covered in, indicate the length or shortness of a man's life. First of all, having offered up a sincere prayer, then count the measurement (*or*, pace the distance and measure): according as the person's life is to be long or short, so will the measurement be greater or less.

On the left side of the road, to the north of the place where Buddha walked, is a large stone, on the top of which, as it stands in a great *vihara*, is a figure of Buddha with his eyes raised and looking up. Here in former times Buddha sat for seven days contemplating the *Bodhi* tree; he did not remove his gaze from it during this period, desiring thereby to indicate his grateful feelings towards the tree by so looking at it with fixed eyes.

Not far to the west of the *Bodhi* tree is a large *vihara* in which is a figure of Buddha made of *teou-shih* (*brass*), ornamented with rare jewels; he stands with his face to the east. Before it is a blue stone with wonderful marks upon it and strangely figured. This is (*the place where*) Buddha sat on a seven-gemmed throne made by Sakra Deva-raja when Brahma-raja built a hall for him of seven precious substances, after he had arrived at complete enlightenment. Whilst he thus sat for seven days in reflection, the mysterious glory which shone from his person lit up the *Bodhi* tree. From the time of the holy one till the present is so long that the gems have changed into stone.

Not far to the south of the *Bodhi* tree is a *stupa* about 100 feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. Bodhisattva having bathed in the Nairanjana river, proceeded towards the *Bodhi* tree. Then he thought, "What shall I do for a seat? I will seek for some pure rushes when the day breaks." Then Sakra-raja (Shi) transformed himself into a grass-cutter, who, with his burden on his back, went along the road. Bodhisattva address-



ing him said, "Can you give me the bundle of grass you are carrying on your back?"

The assumed grass-cutter, hearing the request, offered the grass with respect. Bodhisattva having received it, went onwards to the tree.

Not far to the north of this spot is a *stupa*. Bodhisattva, when about to obtain enlightenment (*the fruit of Buddha*), saw a flock of blue birds rising up (*rohin?*)<sup>73</sup> according to the lucky way. Of all the good omens recognised in India this is the most so. Therefore the Devas of the pure abodes (*Suddhavasas*) accommodated their proceedings to the customary modes of the world, and caused the birds thus to encircle him as spiritually (*miraculously*) indicating his holiness.

To the east of the *Bodhi* tree, on the left and right of the great road, there are two *stupas* (*one on each side*). This is the place where Mara-*raja* tempted Bodhisattva. Bodhisattva, when on the point of enlightenment, was tempted by Mara to become a Chakravarttin (*Lun-wang*) monarch.<sup>74</sup> On his refusing, he went away heavy and sorrowful. On this his daughters, asking him, went to try to entice the Bodhisattva, but by his spiritual power he changed their youthful appearance into that of decrepit old women. Then leaning together on their sticks they went away.<sup>75</sup>

To the north-west of the *Bodhi* tree in a *vihara* is the image of Kasyapa Buddha. It is noted for its miraculous and sacred qualities. From time to time it emits a glorious light. The old records say, that if a man actuated by sincere faith walks round it seven times, he obtains the power of knowing the place and condition of his (*former?*) births.

To the north-west of the *vihara* of Kasyapa Buddha there are two brick chambers, each containing a figure of an earth-spirit. Formerly, when Buddha was on the point of obtaining enlightenment, Mara came to him, and each one (*or one*) became witness for Buddha. Men afterwards, on account of his merit, painted or carved this figure of him with all its points of excellence.

To the north-west of the wall of the *Bodhi* tree is a *stupa*

<sup>73</sup> The expression in the text seems to be phonetic. Julien translates "*luh*" literally by "deer." But the reference is to the blue birds rising up and circling round Bodhisattva in a fortunate way, *vid. Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lviii, fig. 2, *first section*. The account of these signs is to be found in *Wong Puh*, and in other legendary lives of Buddha.

<sup>74</sup> To accept the letter inviting him to be a Chakravarttin, or the *lot* cast by the soothsayers with respect to his being a Chakravarttin (*Ch'uen-lun-wang*).

<sup>75</sup> The temptation scene is represented in all the sculptures. See, e.g., *Cave Temples*, by Dr. Burgess, pl. xx. For an account of the different events named in the text and a description of the great temple of *Gaya* built by a king of Ceylon, see *Buddha Gaya*, by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra.

called Yuh-kin-hiang (the saffron scent, Kunkuma); it is about 40 feet high; it was built by a merchant chief (*sreshthi*) of the country of Tsao-kiu-ch'u (Tsaukuta). In old days there was a merchant-prince of this country who worshipped the heavenly spirits and sacrificed to them with a view to seek religious merit. He despised the religion of Buddha, and did not believe in the doctrine of "deeds and fruits." After a while, he took with him some merchants to engage in commercial transactions (*to take goods for having or not having, i.e., for exchange*). Embarking in a ship on the southern sea, a tempest arising, they lost their way, whilst the tumultuous waves encircled them. Then after three years, their provisions being gone and their mouths parched with thirst, when there was not enough to last the voyages from morning till evening, they employed all their energies with one mind in calling on the gods to whom they sacrificed. After all their efforts no result followed (*their secret desire not accomplished*), when unexpectedly they saw a great mountain with steep crags and precipices, and a double sun gleaming from far. Then the merchants, congratulating themselves, said, "We are fortunate indeed in encountering this great mountain; we shall here get some rest and refreshment." The merchant-master said, "It is no mountain; it is the *Makara* fish; the high crags and scarped precipices are but its fins and mane; the double suns are its eyes as they shine." Scarce had he finished when the sails of the ship began to draw; on which the merchant-master said to his companions, "I have heard say that Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bodhisattva is able to come to the help of those in difficulties and give them rest; we ought then with all faith to call upon that name." So with one accord and voice they paid their adorations<sup>76</sup> and called on the name. The high mountains disappeared, the two suns were swallowed up, and suddenly they saw a Sramana with dignified mien and calm demeanour holding his staff, walking through the sky, and coming towards them to rescue them from shipwreck, and in consequence they were at their own country immediately.<sup>77</sup> Then because their faith was confirmed, and with a view not to lose the merit of their condition, they built a *stupa* and prepared their religious offerings, and they covered the *stupa* from top to bottom with saffron paste. After thus, conceiving a heart of faith, those who were like-minded resolved to pay their adoration to the sacred traces; beholding the *Bodhi* tree, they had no leisure for words about returning; but now, a month having elapsed, as they were walking together, they said in conversation, "Mountains and rivers separate us from our native country, and now as to the

<sup>76</sup> *Kwai-ming*, pay their adorations; the same as *kwai-i*. Julien translates it "placed their lot in his hands."

<sup>77</sup> Can this be the scene represented in the Ajanta frescoes? See Burgess, *Cave Temples*. pl. xvi.

*stupa* which we built formerly, whilst we have been here, who has watered and swept it?" On finishing these words and coming to the spot (*where this stupa stands*), they turned round in token of respect; when suddenly they saw a *stupa* rise before them, and on advancing to look at it, they saw it was exactly like the one they had built in their own country. Therefore now in India they called it the Kunkuma *stupa*.

At the south-east angle of the wall of the *Bodhi* tree is a *stupa* by the side of a Nyagrodha (*ni-ken-liu*) tree. Beside it there is a *vihara* in which is a sitting figure of Buddha. This is the spot where the great Brahmadeva exhorted Buddha, when he had first acquired enlightenment, to turn the wheel of the excellent law.<sup>78</sup>

Within the walls of the *Bodhi* tree at each of the four angles is a great *stupa*. Formerly, when Tathagata received the grass of good omen (*Santi*), he walked on the four sides of the *Bodhi* tree from point to point; then the great earth trembled. When he came to the diamond throne, then all was quiet and peaceable again. Within the walls of the tree the sacred traces are so thick together that it would be difficult to recite each one particularly.

At the south-west of the *Bodhi* tree, outside the walls, there is a *stupa*; this is where the old house of the two shepherd-girls stood who offered the rice-milk to Buddha. By the side of it is another *stupa* where the girls boiled the rice; by the side of the *stupa* Tathagata received the rice. Outside the south gate of the *Bodhi* tree is a great tank about 700 paces round, the water of which is clear and pure as a mirror. Nagas and fishes dwell there. This was the pond which was dug by the Brahmans, who were uterine brothers, at the command of Mahesvara (*Ta-thseu-thsai*).

Still to the south there is a tank; formerly, when Tathagata had just acquired perfect enlightenment, he wished to bathe; then Sakra (*Shi*), king of Devas, for Buddha's sake, caused a pond to appear as a phantom.

On the west is a great stone where Buddha washed his robes, and then wished to dry them; on this, Sakra, king of Devas, brought this rock from the great Snowy Mountains. By the side of this is a *stupa*; this is where Tathagata put on (?) the old garments offered him. Still to the south in a wood

<sup>78</sup> Buddha was in doubt whether any were fit to hear him preach. On this, Brahma (*Fan*), the lord of the "Saha world" (*Mahabrahma Sahampati*), came and exhorted him to "turn the wheel," for, he said, "as on the surface of a pond there are white and blue lotus flowers, some only in bud, some opening, others fully opened; thus it is with men; some are not yet fit to be taught, others are being made fit, whilst some are ready to receive the saving doctrine." See the account in the *Chung-hu-mo-ho-ti Sutra*. See also *Fo-sho*, *varga* 14, v. 1183.

is a *stupa*; this is where the poor old woman gave the old garments which Tathagata accepted.

To the east of the pond which Sakra caused to appear, in the midst of a wood, is the lake of the Naga king Muchilinda (Mu-chi-lin-t'o). The water of this lake is of a dark blue colour, its taste is sweet and pleasant; on the west bank is a small *vihara* in which is a figure of Buddha. Formerly, when Tathagata first acquired complete enlightenment, he sat on this spot in perfect composure, and for seven days dwelt in ecstatic contemplation. Then this Muchilinda Naga-*raja* kept guard over Tathagata; with his folds seven times round the body of Buddha, he caused many heads to appear, which overshadowed him as a parasol; therefore to the east of this lake is the dwelling of the Naga.

To the east of the tank of Muchilinda in a *vihara* standing in a wood is a figure of Buddha, which represents him as thin and withered away.

At the side of this is the place where Buddha walked up and down, about 70 paces or so long, and on each side of it is a *Pippala* tree.

Both in old times and now, among the better classes and the poor, those who suffer from disease are accustomed to anoint the figure with scented earth, on which they get cured in many cases. This is the place where Bodhisattva endured his penance. Here it was Tathagata subdued the heretics and received the request of Mara, and then entered on his six years' fast, eating a grain of millet and of wheat each day; his body then became thin and withered and his face marred. The place where he walked up and down is where he took the branch of the tree (*as he left the river*) after his fast.

By the side of the *Pippala* tree which denoted the place of Buddha's fast is a *stupa*; this is where Ajnata-Kaundinya and the rest, to the number of five, resided. When first the prince left his home, he wandered through the mountains and plains; he rested in forests and by wells of water. Then Suddhodana-*raja* ordered five men to follow him and wait on his person. The prince having entered on his penance, then Ajnata Kaundinya and the rest gave themselves also to a diligent practice of the same.

To the south-west of this spot there is a *stupa*. This is where Bodhisattva entered the Nairanjana river to bathe. By the side of the river, not far off, is the place where Bodhisattva received the rice-milk.

By the side of this is a *stupa* where the merchant-prince (*householder*) offered him the wheat and honey. Buddha was seated with his legs crossed beneath a tree, lost in contemplation, experiencing in silence the joys of emancipation. After seven

days he aroused himself from his ecstasy. Then two merchant-princes travelling by the side of the wood were addressed by the Deva of the place thus: "The prince-royal of the Sakya family dwells in this wood, having just reached the fruit of a Buddha. His mind fixed in contemplation, he has for forty-nine days eaten nothing. By offering him whatsoever you have (*as food*) you will reap great and excellent profit."

Then the two merchants offered some wheat-flour and honey from their travelling store. The World-honoured accepted and received it.

By the side of the merchant-offering place is a *stupa*. This is the spot where the four Deva-rajas presented (*Buddha*) with a *patra*. The merchant-princes made their offering of wheat-flour and honey, the Lord thought with himself in what vessel he should receive it. Then the four Deva-rajas coming from the four quarters, each brought a golden dish and offered it. The Lord sat silently and accepted not the offerings, on the ground that such a costly dish became not the character of a hermit. The four kings casting away the golden dishes, offered silver ones; afterwards they offered vessels of crystal (*po-ch'i*), lapis-lazuli (*liu-li*), cornelian (*ma-nao*), amber (*ku-ch'i*), ruby (*chin chu*), and so on. The Lord of the World would accept neither of them. The four kings then returned to their palaces and brought as an offering stone *patras*, of a deep blue colour and translucent. Again presenting these, the Lord, to avoid accepting one and rejecting the others, forthwith joined them all in one and accepted them thus. Putting them one within the other, he made one vessel of the four. Therefore may be seen the four borders on the outside of the rim (*of the dish*).

Not far from this spot is a *stupa*. This is the place where Tathagata preached the law for the sake of his mother. When Tathagata had acquired complete enlightenment, he was termed "the teacher of gods and of men." His mother, Maya, then came down from heaven to this place. The Lord of the World preached to her according to the occasion, for her profit and pleasure.

Beside this spot is a dry pool, on the border of which is a *stupa*. This is where in former days Tathagata displayed various spiritual changes to convert those who were capable of it.

By the side of this spot is a *stupa*. Here Tathagata converted Uravilva-Kasyapa (Yeu-leu-pin-lo-kia-she-po) with his two brothers and a thousand of their followers. Tathagata, for the purpose of following out his office as "illustrious guide," according to his opportunity (*or* in a suitable way), caused him (*i.e.*, Kasyapa) to submit to his teaching. On this occasion, when 500 followers of Uravilva-Kasyapa had requested to receive the

instruction of Buddha, then Kasyapa said, "I too with you will give up the way of error." On this, going together, they came to the place where Buddha was. Tathagata, addressing them, said, "Lay aside your leather garments and give up your fire-sacrificing vessels." Then the disciples, in obedience to the command, cast into the Nairanjana river their articles of worship (*service* or *use*). When Nadi-Kasyapa (Nai-ti-kia-she-po) saw these vessels following the current of the river, he came with his followers to visit his brother. Having seen his conduct and changed behaviour, he also took the yellow robes. Gaya-Kasyapa also, with two hundred followers, hearing of his brother's change of religion, came to the place where Buddha was, and prayed to be allowed to practise a life of purity.

To the north-west of the spot where the Kasyapa brothers were converted is a *stupa*. This is the place where Tathagata overcame the fiery Naga to which Kasyapa sacrificed. Tathagata, when about to convert these men, first subdued the object of their worship, and rested in the house of the fiery Naga of the Brahmacharins. After the middle of the night the Naga vomited forth fire and smoke. Buddha having entered *Samadhi*, likewise raised the brilliancy of fire, and the house-cell seemed to be filled with fiery flames. The Brahmacharins, fearing that the fire was destroying Buddha, all ran together to the spot with piteous cries, commiserating his fate. On this Uravilva-Kasyapa addressed his followers and said, "As I now gather (*see*), this is not a fire, but the Sramana subduing the fiery Naga." Tathagata having got the fiery dragon firmly fixed in his alms-bowl, on the morrow came forth holding it in his hand, and showed it to the disciples of the unbelievers. By the side of this monument is a *stupa*, where 500 Pratyeka Buddhas at the same time entered *Nirvana*.

To the south of the tank of Muchilinda Naga is a *stupa*. This indicates the spot where Kasyapa went to save Buddha during an inundation. The Kasyapa brothers still opposing the divine method,<sup>79</sup> all who lived far off or near revered their virtue, and submitted themselves to their teaching. The Lord of the World, in his character as guide of those in error, being very intent on their conversion, raised and spread abroad the thick clouds and caused the torrents to fall. The fierce waves surrounded the place where Buddha dwelt; but he alone was free from the flood. At this time Kasyapa, seeing the clouds and rain, calling his disciples, said, "The place where the Shaman dwells must be engulfed in the tide!"

Embarking in a boat to go to his deliverance, he saw the Lord of the World walking on the water as on land; and as he advanced down the stream, the waters divided and left the

<sup>79</sup> *I.e.*, the methods Buddha had used for their conversion.



ground visible. Kasyapa having seen (*the miracle*), his heart was subdued, and he returned.<sup>80</sup>

Outside the eastern gate of the wall of the *Bodhi* tree, 2 or 3 li distant, there is the house of the blind Naga. This Naga, by the accumulated effect of his deeds during former existences, was born blind, as a punishment, in his present birth. Tathagata going on from Mount Pragbodhi, desired to reach the *Bodhi* tree. As he passed this abode, the eyes of the Naga were suddenly opened, and he saw Bodhisattva going on to the tree of intelligence (*Bodhi*). Then addressing Bodhisattva, he said, "O virtuous master! ere long you will become perfectly enlightened! My eyes indeed have long remained in darkness; but when a Buddha appears in the world, then I have my sight restored. During the Bhadra-kalpa, when the three past Buddhas appeared in the world, then I obtained light and saw (*for a while*); and now when thou, O virtuous one! didst approach this spot, my eyes suddenly opened; therefore I know that you shall become a Buddha.

By the side of the eastern gate of the wall of the *Bodhi* tree is a *stupa*. This is where Mara-*raja* tried to frighten Bodhisattva. When first Mara-*raja* knew that Bodhisattva was about to obtain perfect enlightenment, having failed to confuse him by his enticements or to terrify him by his arts, he summoned his host of spirits and arranged his demon army, and arrayed his soldiers, armed with their weapons, as if to destroy the Bodhisattva. On this the winds arose and the rains descended, the thunders rolled in space and the lightning gleamed, as it lit up the darkness; flames of fire and clouds of smoke burst forth; sand and hailstones fell like lances, and were as arrows flying from the bow. Whereupon the Bodhisattva entered the *samadhi* of "great love," and changed the weapons of the host to lotus flowers. Mara's army, smitten by fear, retreated fast and disappeared.

Not far from this are two *stupas* built by Sakra, king of Devas, and by Brahma-*raja*.

Outside the northern gate of the wall of the *Bodhi* tree is the Mahabodhi *sangharanra*. It was built by a former king of Simhala (*Ceylon*.) This edifice has six halls, with towers of observation (temple towers) of three storeys; it is surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high. The utmost skill of the artist has been employed; the ornamentation is in the richest colours (*red and blue*). The statue of Buddha is cast of gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The *stupas* are high and large in proportion, and beautifully ornamented; they contain relics of Buddha. The bone relics are as great as the fingers of the hand, shining and smooth, of

<sup>80</sup> See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxxi. fig. 2.



a pure white colour and translucent. The flesh relics are like the great true pearl, of a bluish-red tint. Every year on the day of the full moon of (*the month when*) Tathagata displayed great spiritual changes, they take these relics out for public exhibition.<sup>81</sup> On these occasions sometimes a bright light is diffused, sometimes it rains flowers. The priests of this convent are more than 1000 men; they study the Great Vehicle and belong to the Sthavira (Shang-tso-pu) school. They carefully observe the *Dharma Vinaya*, and their conduct is pure and correct.

In old days there was a king of Ceylon, which is a country of the southern sea, who was truthful and a believer in the law of Buddha. It happened that his brother, who had become a disciple of Buddha (*a houseless one*), thinking on the holy traces of Buddha, went forth to wander through India. At all the convents he visited, he was treated with disdain as a foreigner (*a frontier countryman*). On this he returned to his own country. The king in person went out to a distance to meet him, but the Sramana was so affected that he could not speak. The king said, "What has so afflicted you as to cause this excessive grief?" The Sramana replied, "I, relying on the dignity of your Majesty's kingdom, went forth to visit the world, and to find my way through distant regions and strange cities. For many years all my travels, during heat and cold, have been attended with outrage, and my words have been met with insults and sarcasm. Having endured these afflictions, how can I be light-hearted?"

The king said, "If these things are so, what is to be done?"

He replied, "In truth, I wish your Majesty in the field of merit would undertake to build convents throughout all India. You would thus signalise the holy traces, and gain for yourself a great name; you would show your gratitude for the advantage derived from your predecessors, and hand down the merit thereof to your successors."

He replied, "This is an excellent plan; how have I but just heard of it?"

Then he gave in tribute to the king of India all the jewels of his country. The king having received them as tribute, from a principle of duty and affection to his distant ally, he sent messengers to say, "What can I now do in return for the decree?"

The minister said, "The king of Simhala salutes the king of India (Maha Sri raja). The reputation of the Maharaja has spread far and wide, and your benefits have reached to distant

<sup>81</sup> In India, the thirtieth day of the twelfth month; in China, the fifteenth day of the first month.

regions. The Sramanas of this inferior country desire to obey your instructions and to accept your transforming influences. Having wandered through your superior country in visiting the sacred traces, I called at various convents and found great difficulty in getting entertainment, and so, fatigued and very much worn by affronts, I returned home. I have therefore formed a plan for the benefit of future travellers; I desire to build in all the Indies a convent for the entertainment of such strangers, who may have a place of rest between their journey there and back. Thus the two countries will be bound together and travellers be refreshed."

The king said, "I permit your royal master to take (*for this purpose*) one of the places in which Tathagata has left the traces of his holy teaching."

On this the messenger returned home, having taken leave of the king, and gave an account of his interview. The ministers received him with distinction and assembled the Sramanas and deliberated as to the foundation of a convent. The Sramanas said, "The (*Bodhi*) tree is the place where all the past Buddhas have obtained the holy fruit and where the future ones will obtain it. There is no better place than this for carrying out the project."

Then, sending all the jewels of the country, they built this convent to entertain priests of this country (*Ceylon*), and he caused to be engraved this proclamation on copper, "To help all without distinction is the highest teaching of all the Buddhas; to exercise mercy as occasion offers is the illustrious doctrine of former saints. And now I, unworthy descendant in the royal line, have undertaken to found this *sangharama*, to enclose the sacred traces, and to hand down their renown to future ages, and to spread their benefits among the people. The priests of my country will thus obtain independence, and be treated as members of the fraternity of this country. Let this privilege be handed down from generation to generation without interruption."

For this cause this convent entertains many priests of Ceylon. To the south of the *Bodhi* tree 10 li or so, the sacred traces are so numerous that they cannot be each named. Every year when the Bhikshus break up their yearly rest of the rains, religious persons come here from every quarter in thousands and myriads, and during seven days and nights they scatter flowers, burn incense, and sound music as they wander through the district<sup>82</sup> and pay their worship and present their offerings. The priests of India, according to the holy instruction of Buddha, on the first day of the first half of the month *Sravana* enters on *Wass*. With us this is the sixteenth day of the fifth month:

<sup>82</sup> The district of the penance of Buddha.

they give up their retreat on the fifteenth day of the second half of the month *Asvayuja*, which is with us the fifteenth day of the eighth month.

In India the names of the months depend on the stars, and from ancient days till now there has been no change in this. But as the different schools have translated the accounts according to the dialects of the countries without distinguishing one from the other, mistakes have arisen, and as a consequence contradictions are apparent in the division of the seasons. Hence it is in some places they enter on *Wass* on the sixteenth day of the fourth month, and break up on the fifteenth day of the seventh month.

#### BOOK VIII, NOTE 1.

The pilgrim's route from Patna to Gaya is difficult to settle. I think we must omit the passage on p. 334, l. 45. "going about 200 li," and consider the "old *sangharama*" as being perhaps 10 li beyond the south-west angle of the city. This 10 li, together with the two distances of 100 li+90 li to the "cloud-stone mountain," will thus make up 200 li (put down by mistake), and correspond with the 6 or 7 *yojanas* in *Hwui-lih* from Patna to the *Ti lo-chi-kia* convent. This last place I should identify with the Barabar Hills; but we must place the Tiladaka convent at Tilara. Hiuen Tsiang did not actually visit the spots named between the Barabar Hills and Gaya (see Ferguson's remarks, *J.R.A.S.*, vol. vi. part 2).

#### NOTE 2.

With reference to the translation on p. 347, where the Chinese symbols '*O-mo-lo-kia-ko*' have been rendered the "Amalaka fruit" as though this were the surmounting ornament of the great *vihara* at Buddha Gaya, it is to be noticed that in the Chinese text these symbols are explained as being equivalent to "precious pitcher or vase" (*pao p'ing*). This phrase is frequently explained as "the sweetdew dish or vase," or, "the immortal dish." M. Julien, in his note on the passage in question, restores the phonetic symbols, in deference to the Chinese explanation, to *Amalakarka*, that is, "*pure dish or vase*." But the right restoration is doubtless *Amara Karka*, "the immortal dish or vase," for, as before stated, "sweet-dew" is always rendered by "immortal" or "immortality." This "sweet-dew dish or vessel" is represented in Chinese drawings as an oval bottle with a long narrow neck (see the illustration in the Liturgy of Avalokitesvara, "possessed of a thousand hands and a thousand eyes"). This explains the statement of Dr. Burgess (*Ajanta Caves*, xvii. § iv): "Avalokitesvara holds the palm of his right hand forward and has a bottle with oval body and narrow neck in his left." This is the *Amara Karka*. In the illustration of the pavement slab of the great temple of Gaya (i.e. the *vihara* under present notice) given in the first volume of the *Archæological Survey of India*, p. vi (following p. 8), there is the figure of a devotee praying in front of a *stupa*, which is crowned with flags and a bottle or vase, doubtless the same as the *Amara Karka*. This illustrates the inscription found at Buddha Gaya and translated by Sir Charles Wilkins, in which the building of the temple is attributed to Amara Kosha; one of the nine gems of the court of King Vikramaditya. General Cunningham, then, is probably correct in saying that this great temple of Buddha Gaya was built between the time of Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang. The crowning member or stone of a temple spire is called *Amalasila*, or "pure stone."

END OF BOOK VIII.

## BOOK IX

### *The Second Part of the Country Magadha*

To the east of the Bodhi tree, crossing the Nairanjana (Ni-len-shan-na) river, in the middle of a wood, is a *stupa*. To the north of this is a pool. This is the spot where a perfume elephant (Gandhabasti)<sup>1</sup> waited on his mother. Formerly when Tathagata was practising discipline as a Bodhisattva, he was born as the offspring of a *perfume-elephant*, and lived in the mountains of the north. Wandering forth, he came to the border of this pool. His mother being blind, he gathered for her the sweet lotus roots, and drew pure water for her use, and cherished her with devotion and filial care. At this time there was a man who had changed his home,<sup>2</sup> who wandered here and there in the wood without knowing his way, and in his distress raised piteous cries. The elephant-cub heard him and pitied him; leading him on, he showed him his way to the road. The man having got back, forthwith went to the king and said, "I know of a wood<sup>3</sup> in which a *perfume-elephant* lives and roams. It is a very valuable animal. You had better go and take it."

The king, assenting to his words, went with his soldiers to capture it, the man leading the way. Then pointing to the elephant to show it to the king, immediately both his arms fell off as if cut by a sword. The king, though he saw this miracle, yet captured the elephant-cub, and bound it with cords, and returned to his palace. The young elephant having been bound (in order to tame it), for a long time would neither eat nor drink. The stablekeeper stated the matter to the king, who, on his part, came to see for himself, and asking the elephant the reason.<sup>4</sup> "Lo!" he answered and said, "my mother is blind, and now for days together is without food or drink, and here I am bound in a dreary dungeon. How can I take my food with relish!" The king, pitying his feelings and resolution, therefore ordered him to be set free.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. note 25. Consult also Monier Williams, *Sansc. Dict.*, sub voc. *Gandhadvipa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tui i shuh* seems to imply that he had changed his place of abode, and so was at a loss to find his way about; or it may simply mean, "In the lapse of time it happened that," &c. So Julien translates it.

<sup>3</sup> The ruins of the *stupa* and the lower portion of the shaft of the pillar raised on the spot where the young elephant was taken still exist at Bakror, on the eastern bank of the Lilajan river, about one mile to the south-east of Buddha Gaya (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 459).

<sup>4</sup> In a fond way, as we speak to dumb creatures.

By the side of this (*pool*) is a *stupa*, before which is built a stone pillar. In this place the Buddha Kasyapa (Kia-she-po) long ago sat in meditation. By its side are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked.

To the east of this spot, crossing the Mo-ho<sup>5</sup> (Mahi) river, we come to a great forest in which is a stone pillar. This is the place where a heretic entered a condition of ecstasy and made a wicked vow. In old days there was a heretic called Udra-Ramaputra (U-teou-lan-tseu). In mind he soared above the vapoury clouds, whilst he left his body among the wilds and marshes. Here in this sacred forest, restraining his spirit, he left his traces.<sup>6</sup> Having acquired the five supernatural faculties,<sup>7</sup> reached the highest condition of *Dhyana*, and the king of Magadha greatly respected him. Each day at noon he invited him to his palace to eat. Udra-Ramaputra, mounting through space, walking in the air, came and went without hindrance.

The king of Magadha, expecting the moment of his arrival, kept watch for him, and, on his coming, respectfully placed for him his seat. The king being about to go forth on a tour, wished to put this affair in charge of some one during his absence, but he found no one in his inner palace whom he could select, capable of undertaking his commands.<sup>8</sup> But (amongst his attendants) there was a little pet girl of modest appearance and well-mannered, so that in the whole palace none of his followers (wise folk) was able to excel her.<sup>9</sup> The king of Magadha summoned this one, and said to her, "I am going some distance on a tour of observation, and I desire to put you in charge of an important business; you must, on your part, give all your mind to do thoroughly as I direct in the matter. It relates to that celebrated Rishi Udra-Ramaputra, whom I have for a long time treated with reverence and respect. Now when he comes here at the appointed time to dine, do you pay him the same attention that I do." Having left these instructions, the king gave notice of his absence (*non-attendance*).

The little girl, according to her instructions, waited in expectation as usual. The great Rishi having come, she received him, and placed a seat for him. Udra-Ramaputra having touched the young female, felt within him the impure risings of earthly passion (*of the world of desire*), and so he lost his

<sup>5</sup> The Mohana Nadi river.

<sup>6</sup> Udra-Ramaputra was one of the teachers to whom Bodhisattva went before his penance (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, *varga* 12); but it is uncertain whether he is the one referred to in the text. The expression, "restraining his spirit" means that when he confined his spirit within his body he left here bodily traces.

<sup>7</sup> *Panchabhijñas*; see Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub *voc.* *Abhinna*; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 263; *Lotus*, pp. 820 ff.

<sup>8</sup> That is, none of the females of the palace.

<sup>9</sup> Could take her place of precedence.

spiritual capabilities. Having finished his meal, he spoke of going, but he was unable to rise in the air. Then feeling ashamed, he prevaricated, and addressing the maiden said, "I am able, as the result of the discipline I practise, to enter *Samadhi*, and then, my mind at rest, I can ascend into the air, and come and go without a moment's delay. I have heard long ago, however, that the people of the country desire to see me. In agreement with the rule of the olden time, our utmost aim should be to benefit all that lives. How shall I regard only my own benefit and forget to benefit others? I desire, therefore, on this occasion, to go through the gate and walk on the ground, to bring happiness and profit to all those who see me going."

The royal maiden hearing this, straightway spread the news far and wide. Then the people began with all their hearts to water and sweep the roads, and thousands upon thousands awaited to see him come. Udra-Ramaputra, stepping from the royal palace, proceeded on foot to that religious forest. Then sitting down in silence, he entered *Samadhi*. Then his mind, quickly escaping outside, was yet limited within the boundaries of the forest.<sup>10</sup> And now (as it wandered through the woods) the birds began to scream and flutter about, and as it approached the pond, the fishes began to jump and splash, till at last his feelings being wrought up, and his mind becoming confused, he lost his spiritual capabilities. Giving up his attempt at ecstasy,<sup>11</sup> he was filled with anger and resentment, and he made this wicked vow, "May I hereafter be born as a fierce and wicked beast, with the body of a fox and the wings of a bird, that I may seize and devour living creatures. May my body be 3000 li long, and the outspread of my wings each way 1,500 li; then rushing into the forest, I will devour the birds, and entering the rivers, I will eat the fish."

When he had made this vow his heart grew gradually at rest, and by earnest endeavours he resumed his former state of ecstasy. Not long after this he died, and was born in the first of the Bhuvani heavens,<sup>12</sup> where his years would be 80,000 kalpas. Tathagata left this record of him: "The years of his life in that heaven being ended, then he will reap the fruit of

<sup>10</sup> That is; although his spirit was able to leave his body, yet, owing to his evil thoughts, it was unable to rise as before "above the vapoury clouds."

<sup>11</sup> This seems to show that although his spirit quickly passed "outside," it was unable to obtain complete independence of his body.

<sup>12</sup> That is, in the highest of the Arupa heavens. This heaven is called in Chinese *fi-seang-fi-fi-siang-tin*, i.e., the heaven where there is neither thought (consciousness) nor an absence of thought; in Pali, "*Nevasanna-nasanna*" (see Childers, *Pali Dict.* sub voc.) From the history given in the *Fo-sho-king*, it would seem that this refinement of language as to the character of the highest heaven is due to Udra-Ramaputra.



his old vow and possess this ignoble body. From the streams of the evil ways of birth he may not yet expect to emerge."<sup>13</sup>

To the east of Mahi river we enter a great wild forest, and going 100 li or so, we come to the Ki'u-ki'u-cha-po-to-shan (Kukkutapadagiri, the Cock's-foot Mountain). It is also called Kiu-liu-po-to-shan (Gurupadah giri<sup>14</sup>). The sides of this mountain are high and rugged, the valleys and gorges are impenetrable. Tumultuous torrents rush down its sides, thick forests envelope the valleys, whilst tangled shrubs grow along its cavernous heights. Soaring upwards into the air are three sharp peaks; their tops are surrounded by the vapours of heaven, and their shapes lost in the clouds. Behind these hills the venerable Maha-Kasyapa dwells wrapped in a condition of *Nirvana*. People do not dare to utter his name, and therefore they speak of the "Guru-padah" (*the venerable teacher*).<sup>15</sup> Maha-Kasyapa was a Sravaka and a disciple (*or* a Sravaka disciple) perfectly possessed of the six supernatural faculties and the eight enfranchisements<sup>16</sup> (*ashtau vimokshas*).<sup>17</sup> Tathagata,

<sup>13</sup> That is, although he is now in the highest heaven of substance (*bhava*), where his life will last 80,000 great kalpas (an incalculable period), yet he is not saved from future misery. This exhibits the character of Buddha's conception of *Nirvana*, that it is a condition free from any possibility of a return to mundane or other bodily form of existence.

<sup>14</sup> That is, the Mountain of the Venerable Master. *i.e.*, Kasyapa. Pada is here added as a token of respect, as in Deva-padah, Kumarila-padah, &c. It seems to have been called the Cock's-foot from its shape, the three peaks or spurs resembling the foot of the cock. Fa-hian places it 3 li to the south of Gaya, probably a mistake for 3 *yojanas* to the east (see *Fa-hian*, Beal's ed., cap. xxxiii. n. 1). It has been identified by Cunningham with the village of Kurkihar (vid. *Arch. Survey*, vol. i. pp. 14-16; vol. xv. p. 4; and *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 460). This hill of the cock's foot must not be confused with the *sangharuma* of the cock-garden near Patna. There is no evidence that there was a hill near this last establishment, and it is nowhere called the Kukkuta-pada vihar. The quotation made by Julien (vol. ii. 428 n.) refers to the hill near Gaya; so also does the note of Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 366. See also Schiefner's *Lebensbeschreibung Cakyamuni's* p. 278; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii. p. 327.

<sup>15</sup> This is a difficult passage, but the sense is evident. Kasyapa dwells in the mountain awaiting the arrival of Maitreya; he cannot therefore have passed into complete *Nirvana*. In fact, the subsequent narrative shows that he will only reach that condition when Maitreya comes. I take the expression *chung tsie mih* to denote the indefinite character of his present condition, which cannot be called *Nirvana*. but is a middle state of existence. *Pada*, as stated above, is an honorary affix; the expression *ki-heou* refers to the inner recesses of the mountain. Julien translates the passage thus: "In the sequence of time the great Kasyapa dwelt in this mountain, and there entered *Nirvana*. Men dare not call him by his name, and so they say "the foot of the venerable."

<sup>16</sup> *Shadabhiñjas*. See Childers, *Pali Dict.*, s. v. *Albhinnā*, and *ante*. vol. i. p. 104, n. 73.

<sup>17</sup> See Childers, *u. s.*, s. v. *Vimokho*; Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 347, 824 f. and *ante*, vol. i. n. 90.



his work of conversion being done, and just on the point of attaining *Nirvana*, addressed Kasyapa and said, "Through many<sup>18</sup> kalpas I have undergone (*diligently borne*) painful penances for the sake of all that lives, seeking the highest form of religion. What I have all along prayed for (*desired*) I have now obtained to the full. Now, as I am desirous to die (*enter Mahanirvana*), I lay on you the charge of the *Dharma Pitaka*. Keep and disseminate (*this doctrine*) without loss or diminution. The golden-tissued *Kashaya* robe given me by my foster-mother (*mother's sister*)<sup>19</sup> I bid you keep and deliver to Maitreya (*T'se-chi*) when he has completed the condition of Buddha.<sup>20</sup> All those who engage in the profession of my bequeathed law, whether they be Bhikshus, Bhikshunis, Upasakas, or Upasikas, must first (*i.e., before this be accomplished*) cross over and escape the stream of transmigration."

Kasyapa having received this commission to undertake to preserve the true law, summoned an assembly<sup>21</sup> (*council or convocation*). This done, he continued twenty years (*in charge of the order*), and then, in disgust at the impermanence of the of the world, and desiring to die, he went towards Cock's-foot Mountain. Ascending the north side of the mountain, he proceeded along the winding path, and came to the south-west ridge. Here the crags and precipices prevented him going on. Forcing his way through the tangled brushwood, he struck the rock with his staff, and thus opened a way. He then passed on, having divided the rock, and ascended till he was again stopped by the rocks interlacing one another. He again opened a passage through, and came out on the mountain peak on the north-east side. Then having emerged from the defiles, he proceeded to the middle point of the three peaks. There he took the *Kashaya* garment (*chivara*) of Buddha, and as he stood he expressed an ardent vow. On this the three peaks covered him over; this is the reason why now these three rise up into the air. In future ages, when Maitreya shall have come and declared the threefold law<sup>22</sup> finding the countless persons opposed to him by pride, he will lead them to this mountain, and coming to the place where Kasyapa is, in a moment (*the snapping of the finger*) Maitreya will cause it to open of itself, and all those people, having seen Kasyapa, will only be more proud and obstinate.

<sup>18</sup> Mahaprajapati.

<sup>19</sup> The word means "waste" or "distant"; as we might say, through "a waste of ages," or "dreary ages."

<sup>20</sup> This passage is translated by Julien thus: "Which Maitreya after he became Buddha left, that it might be transmitted to you." But this cannot be correct. Maitreya has not become Buddha. I translate it, "I deliver to you to keep, awaiting the time when Maitreya shall become perfect Buddha."

<sup>21</sup> This is the usual phrase used for "calling a convocation."

<sup>22</sup> The thrice-repeated law; see *ante*.

Then Kasyapa, delivering the robe, and having paid profound reverence, will ascend into the air and exhibit all sorts of spiritual changes, emitting fire and vapour from his body. Then he will enter Nirvana. At this time the people, witnessing these miracles, will dismiss their pride, and opening their minds, will obtain the fruit (*of holiness*). Now, therefore, on the top of the mountain is a *stupa* built. On quiet evenings those looking from a distance see sometimes a bright light as it were of a torch; but if they ascend the mountain there is nothing to be observed.<sup>23</sup>

Going to the north-east of the Cock's-foot Mountain about 100 li, we come to the mountain called Buddhavana (Fo-to-fa-na), with its peaks and cliffs lofty and precipitous. Among its steep mountain cliffs is a stone chamber where Buddha once descending stayed; by its side is a large stone where Sakra (Shih), king of Devas, and Brahma-raja (Fan-wang) pounded some ox-head (*gosirsha*)<sup>24</sup> sandal-wood, and anointed Tathagata with the same. The scent (*of this*) is still to be perceived on the stone. Here also five hundred Arhats secretly dwell<sup>25</sup> in a spiritual manner, and here those who are influenced by religious desire to meet with them sometimes see them, on one occasion under the form of Samaneras just entering the village to beg food, at other times as withdrawing (*to their cells*), on some occasions manifesting traces of their spiritual power in ways difficult to describe in detail.

Going about 30 li to the east, amongst wild valleys of the Buddhavana (Fo-to-fa-na) mountain, we come to the wood called Yashtivana (Ye-see-chi).<sup>26</sup> The bamboos that grow here are large; they cover the hill and extend through the valley. In former days there was a Brahman, who hearing that the body of Sakya Buddha (Shih-kia-fo) was sixteen feet in height, was perplexed with doubt and would not credit it. Then taking a bamboo sixteen feet long, he desired to measure the height of Buddha; the body constantly overtopped the bamboo and

<sup>23</sup> The three-peaked mountain here referred to has been identified by General Cunningham with the three peaks of the Murali mountain, which stands three miles north-east of the town of Kurkihar. There is still a square basement surrounded by quantities of bricks on the highest or middle peak of the three. *Arch. Survey*, vol. xv, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> "In Pali called *gosisam*, among the Tibetans *gorshi-sha*, and among the Mongols *gurshosha*. It is apparently applied to sandal-wood having the odour of the cow's head" (Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 557). But perhaps its name is derived from its appearance, viz., a centre of silvery white wood within a darker outside circle. Compare the description of the bull that carried off Europa—*kuklos d'argupheos mestomarmaire metopo*. *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 158. For the circle on the forehead, see the figures "from the oldest painting in Cave X at Ajanta" (*Burgess*, plates viii. ix. x., *Report on the Paintings at Ajanta*).

<sup>25</sup> I do not find in the text that they entered Nirvana here.

<sup>26</sup> "The forest of the staff."

exceeded the sixteen feet. So going on increasing, he could not find the right measurement. He then threw the bamboo on the ground and departed; but because of this it stood upright and took root.

In the midst of this wood is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. Here Tathagata displayed for seven days great spiritual wonders (*miracles*) for the sake of the Devas, and preached the mysterious and excellent law.

In the forest of the staff (*Yashtivana*) not long since there was an Upasaka named Jayasena (*She-ye-si-na*), a Kshattriya of Western India. He was exceedingly simple-minded and moderate. He amused himself amid the forests and hills, dwelling in a sort of fairyland, whilst his mind wandered amid the limits of truth (*true limits*). He had deeply studied the mysteries both of orthodox and other treatises (*inside and outside books*). His language and observations were pure, and his arguments elevated; his presence was quiet and dignified. The Sramanas, Brahmanas, heretics of different schools, the king of the country, the great ministers and householders, and persons of rank came together to visit him and personally to ask him questions. His pupils occupied sixteen apartments;<sup>27</sup> and although nearly seventy years of age, he read with them diligently and without cessation, and applied their minds only to the study of Buddhist *sutras*, rejecting all other engagements. Thus night and day he gave up body and mind to this pursuit alone.

It is a custom in India to make little *stupas* of powdered scent made into a paste; their height is about six or seven inches, and they place inside them some written extract from a *sutra*; this they call a *dharmasarira*<sup>28</sup> (*fa-shi-li*). When the number of these has become large, they then build a great *stupa*, and collect all the others within it, and continually offer to it religious offerings. This then was the occupation of Jaya-sena (*Ching-kian*); with his mouth he declared the excellent law, and led and encouraged his students, whilst with his hand he constructed these *stupas*. Thus he acquired the highest and most excellent religious merit. In the evening, again, he would walk up and down worshipping and repeating his prayers, or silently sit down in meditation. For eating or sleeping he had little time, and relaxed none of his discipline night or day. Even after he was an hundred years old his mind and body were in full activity. During thirty years he had made seven *kotis* of the *dharmasarira stupas* and for every *koti* that he made he built a great *stupa* and placed them in it. When full, he presented his religious offerings and invited the priests; whilst they, on their part,

<sup>27</sup> The text here seems to be faulty.

<sup>28</sup> See the seals found at Birdaban; *Arch. Surv.*, vol. iii. p. 157, pl. xlv; see also *J. Bom. B. R. A. S.*, vol. vi. p. 157 f.

offered him their congratulations.<sup>29</sup> On these occasions a divine light shone around and spiritual wonders (*miracles*) exhibited themselves; and from that time forth the miraculous light has continued to be seen.

South-west of the Yashtivana<sup>30</sup> about 10 li or so, on the south side of a great mountain, are two warm springs;<sup>31</sup> the water is very hot. In old days, Tathagata caused this water to appear, and washed himself therein. The pure flow of these waters still lasts without diminution. Men far and near flock here to bathe, after which those who have suffered from disease or chronic affections are often healed. By the side of the springs is a *stupa*, to mark the place where Tathagata walked for exercise.

To the south-east of the Yashtivana about six or seven li we come to a great mountain. Before a cross-ridge<sup>32</sup> of this mountain is a *stupa*. Here in old days Tathagata explained the law during the three months of rain for the benefit of men and Devas. Then Bimbisara-*raja* (Pin-pi-so-lo) wished to come to hear the law. He cut away the mountain, and piled up the stones to make steps in order to ascend. The width is about twenty paces and the length 3 or 4 li.<sup>33</sup>

To the north of the great mountain 3 or 4 li is a solitary hill. Formerly the Rishi Vyasa<sup>34</sup> (Kwang-po) lived here in solitude. By excavating the side of the mountain he formed a house. Some portions of the foundations are still visible. His disciples still hand down his teaching, and the celebrity of his bequeathed doctrine still remains.

To the north-east of the solitary hill 4 or 5 li there is a small hill, also standing alone. In the side of this hill (*has been excavated*) a stone chamber. In length and breadth<sup>35</sup> it is enough to seat 1000 persons or so. In this place Tathagata, when living in the world, repeated the law for three months. Above the stone chamber is a great and remarkable rock, on which Sakra, king of Devas, and Brahma-*raja* pounded some

<sup>29</sup> Or, invited the congregation of priests to a religious assembly to consecrate the service.

<sup>30</sup> The Bamboo forest (Chang-lin) is still known as the Jakhti-ban; it lies to the east of the Buddhain hill (Buddhavana), and is frequented by the people for the purpose of cutting bamboos (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 461).

<sup>31</sup> These springs are about two miles to the south of Jakhti-ban, at a place called Tapoban, which name is a common contraction of Taptapani, or the "hot water" (*Ibid.*)

<sup>32</sup> Or it may be "a transverse pass."

<sup>33</sup> The great mountain referred to in the text corresponds with the lofty hill of Handia, 1403 feet in height (Cunningham).

<sup>34</sup> This restoration rests on M. Julien's authority, as explained in his note (iii. 13).

<sup>35</sup> Kwang mow, see Medhurst, *Chin. Dict.*, sub *Mow*, p. 994.

ox-head sandal-wood, and with the dust sprinkled the body of Tathagata. The surface of the stone still emits the scent of the perfume.

At the south-west angle of the stone house there is a lofty cavern which the Indians call the palace of the Asuras ('O-su-lo). Formerly there was a good-natured fellow who was deeply versed in the use of magic formulæ. He engaged with some companions, fourteen altogether, to covenant with one another to enter this lofty cavern. After going about 30 or 40 li, suddenly the whole place was lighted up with great brilliancy, and they saw a walled city before them, with towers and look-outs all of silver and gold and lapis-lazuli (*lieu-li*). The men having advanced to it, there were some young maidens who stationed themselves at the gates, and with joyful laughing faces greeted them and paid them reverence. Going on a little farther they came to the inner city-gates, where there were two slave-girls holding each of them a golden vessel full of flowers and scents. Advancing with these, they waited the approach of the visitors, and then said, "You must first bathe yourselves in yonder tank, and then anoint yourselves with the perfumes and crown yourselves with the flowers, and then you may enter the city. Do not hasten to enter yet; only that master of magic can come in at once." Then the other thirteen men went down at once to bathe. Having entered the tank, they all at once became confused, and forgot all that had taken place, and were (*found*) sitting in the middle of a rice field distant from this due north, over a level country, about 30 or 40 li.

By the side of the stone house there is a wooden way (*a road made with timber*)<sup>36</sup> about 10 paces wide and about 4 or 5 li. Formerly Bimbisara-*raja*, when about to go to the place where Buddha was, cut out a passage through the rock, opened up the valleys, levelled the precipices, and led a way across the river-courses, built up walls of stone, and bored through the opposing crags, and made ladders up the heights to reach the place where Buddha was located.

From this spot proceeding eastward through the mountains about 60 li, we arrive at the city Kusagara-pura (*Kiu-she-kie-lo-pu-lo*), or "the royal city of best grass (*lucky grass*)."<sup>37</sup> This is the central point of the kingdom of Magadha.<sup>37</sup> Here the former kings of the country fixed their capital. It produces much of the most excellent, scented, fortunate grass, and therefore it is called "the city of the superior grass." High mountains surround

<sup>36</sup> *Chan-tau*, wooden bridges over mountain chasms (*Khang-hi*, quoted by Julien, note *in loco*).

<sup>37</sup> Kusagarapura was the original capital of Maghadha, and was called Rajagriha, or the "royal residence." It was also named Girivraja, or the "hill surrounded." (See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 462).

it on each side, and form as it were its external walls.<sup>38</sup> On the west it is approached through a narrow pass, on the north there is a passage through the mountains. The town is extended from east to west and narrow from north to south. It is about 150 li in circuit. The remaining foundations of the wall of the inner city are about 30 li in circuit. The trees called *Kie-ni-kia* (Kanakas) border all the roads, their flowers exhale a delicious perfume, and their colour is of a bright golden hue. In the spring months the forests are all of a golden colour.

Outside the north gate of the palace city is a *stupa*. Here Devadatta (Ti-p'o-to-to) and Ajatasatru-*raja* (Wi-sing-yun), having agreed together as friends, liberated the drunken elephant for the purpose of killing Tathagata. But Tathagata miraculously caused five lions to proceed from his finger-ends; on this the drunken elephant was subdued and stood still before him.<sup>39</sup>

To the north-east of this spot is a *stupa*. This is where Sariputra (She-li-tseu) heard Asvajita ('O-shi-p'o-shi) the Bhikshu declare the law, and by that means reached the fruit (*of an Arhat*.) At first Sariputra was a layman; he was a man of distinguished ability and refinement, and was highly esteemed by those of his own time. At this time, with other students, he accepted the traditional teaching as delivered to him. On one occasion, being about to enter the great city of Rajagriha, the Bhikshu Asvajita (Ma-shing) was also just going his round of begging. Then Sariputra, seeing him at a distance, addressed his disciples, saying, "Yonder man who comes, so full of dignity and nobleness, if he has not reached the fruit of sanctity (*Arhatship*), how is he thus composed and quiet? Let us stop awhile and observe him as he approaches." Now as Asvajita Bhikshu had reached the condition of an Arhat, his mind was self-possessed, his face composed and of an agreeable refinement; thus, holding his religious staff, he came along with a dignified air. Then Sariputra said, "Venerable sir! are you at ease and happy? Pray, who is your master, and what the system you profess, that you are so gladsome and contented?"

Asvajita answering him said, "Know you not the royal prince, the son of Suddhodana-*raja*, who gave up the condition of a Chakravartin monarch, and from pity to the six kinds of creatures for six years endured penance and reached the condition of *Sambodhi*, the state of perfect omniscience? This is my master! As to his law, it has respect to a condition including the absence of existence, without nonentity;<sup>40</sup> it is difficult to

<sup>38</sup> So also Fa-hian states that the five hills which surround the town are like the walls of a city (cap. xxviii).

<sup>39</sup> This is a perversion of the simple story found in the *Fo-sho-king*, iv. 1713 ss.

<sup>40</sup> The opposite of existence (*yau*, material or conditioned existence), and also of not-being.



define; only Buddhas with Buddhas can fathom it; how much less can foolish and blind mortals, such as I, explain its principles. But for your sake I will recite a stanza in praise of the law of Buddha."<sup>41</sup> Sariputra having heard it, obtained forthwith the fruit of Arhatship.

To the north of this place, not far off, there is a very deep ditch, by the side of which is built a *stupa*; this is the spot where Srigupta (She-li-kio-to) wished to destroy Buddha by means of fire concealed in the ditch and poisoned rice. Now Srigupta (Shing-mi) greatly honoured (*believed in*) the heretics, and his mind was deeply possessed by false views. All the Brahmacharins said, "The men of the country greatly honour Gautama (Kiao-ta-mo), and in consequence he causes our disciples to be without support. Invite him then to your house to eat, and before the door make a great ditch and fill it with fire, and cover it over slightly with wooden planks to conceal the fire; moreover, poison the food, so that if he escape the fire (*fiery ditch*), he will take the poison."

Srigupta, according to his directions, caused the poison to be prepared, and then all the people in the town, knowing the evil and destructive design of Srigupta against the Lord of the World, entreated Buddha not to go to the house. The Lord said, "Be not distressed; the body of Tathagata cannot be hurt by such means as these." He therefore accepted the invitation and went. When his foot trod on the threshold of the door the fire in the pit became a tank of pure water with lotus flowers on its surface.

Srigupta having witnessed this, being filled with shame and fear lest his project should fail, said to his followers, "He has by his magical power escaped the fire; but there is yet the poisoned food!" The Lord having eaten the rice, began to declare the excellent law, on which Srigupta, having attended to it, himself became a disciple.

To the north-east of this fiery ditch of Srigupta (Shing-mi), at a bend of the city, is a *stupa*; this is where Jivaka (Shi-fo-kia),<sup>42</sup> the great physician, built a preaching-hall for Buddha. All round the walls he planted flowers and fruit trees. The traces of the foundation-walls and the decayed roots of the trees are still visible. Tathagata, when he was in the world, often stopped here. By the side of this place are the remains of the house of Jivaka, and the hollow of an old well also exists there still.

To the north-east of the palace city going 14 or 15 li, we come to the mountain Gridhrakuta (Ki-li-tho-kiu-ch'a). Touch-

<sup>41</sup> The stanza he recited is given in the *Fo-sho-king*, v. 1392. See also *infra*.

<sup>42</sup> For the history of Jivaka see S. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 238.



ing the southern slope of the northern mountain, it rises as a solitary peak to a great height, on which vultures make their abode. It appears like a high tower on which the azure tints of the sky are reflected, the colours of the mountain and the heaven being commingled.

When Tathagata had guided the world for some fifty years, he dwelt much in this mountain, and delivered the excellent law in its developed form (*kwang*).<sup>43</sup> Bimbisara-*raja*, for the purpose of hearing the law, raised a number of men to accompany him from the foot of the mountain to its summit. They levelled the valleys and spanned the precipices, and with the stones made a staircase about ten paces wide and 5 or 6 li long. In the middle of the road there are two small *stupas*, one called "Dismounting from the chariot" (*Hia-shing*), because the king, when he got here, went forward on foot. The other is called "Sending back the crowd" (*Tui-fan*), because the king, separating the common folk, would not allow them to proceed with him. The summit of this mountain is long from the east to the west and narrow from north to south. There is a brick *vihara* on the borders of a steep precipice at the western end of the mountain. It is high and wide and beautifully constructed. The door opens to the east. Here Tathagata often stopped in old days and preached the law. There is now a figure of him preaching the law of the same size as life.

To the east of the *vihara* is a long stone, one which Tathagata trod as he walked up and down for exercise. By the side of it is a great stone about fourteen or fifteen feet high and thirty paces round. This is the place where Devadatta<sup>44</sup> flung a stone from a distance to strike Buddha.

South of this, below the precipice, is a stupa. Here Tathagata, when alive in old time, delivered the *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra*.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> A great number of the later developed *sutras* are said to have been delivered here. There is also a late form of belief which connects the spiritual form of Buddha with this mountain. It is barely possible that Buddha did in his later years declare a developed (mystical) form of his doctrine, and perhaps this mountain was the scene of his teaching; but the greater portion of the *sutras* claiming the authenticity of his utterance here are fabulous. Compare *Fa-hian*, cap. xxix. The Vulture Peak is a part of the lofty hill now called *Saila-giri*, but no caves have been discovered there (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 466).

<sup>44</sup> The story of Devadatta rolling down the stone will be found in *Fa-hian*, chap. xxix, also in the *Fo-sho-king*, p. 246, and in the *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 383. The accounts, however, slightly differ.

<sup>45</sup> *Fa-hian* relates how he visited the cave on this peak, and wept in recollection of Buddha's residence therein. Here also, he adds, "he delivered the *Sheu-ling-yan Sutra*." This is the *Surangama Sutra*. H'uen Tsiang says he also delivered here the *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra*. These

To the south of the *vihara*, by the side of a mountain cliff, is a great stone house. In this Tathagata, when dwelling in the world long ago, entered *Samadhi*.

To the north-west of the stone house and in front of it is a great and extraordinary stone. This is the place where Ananda (O-nan) was frightened by Mara. When the venerable Ananda had entered *Samadhi* in this place, Mara-*raja*, assuming the form of a vulture, in the middle of the night, during the dark portion of the month, took his place on this rock, and flapping his wings and uttering loud screams, tried to frighten the venerable one.<sup>46</sup> Ananda, filled with fear, was at a loss to know what to do; then Tathagata, by his spiritual power, seeing his state, stretched out his hand to compose him. He pierced the stone wall and patted the head of Ananda, and with his words of great love he spoke to him thus: "You need not fear the assumed form which Mara has taken." Ananda in consequence recovered his composure, and remained with his heart and body at rest and in peace.

Although years and months have elapsed since then, yet the bird traces on the stone and the hole in the rock<sup>47</sup> still remain visible.

By the side of the *vihara* there are several stone houses,<sup>48</sup> where Sariputra and other great Arhats entered *Samadhi*. In front of the stone house of Sariputra is a great well, dry and waterless. The hollow (*shaft*) still remains.

To the north-east of the *vihara*, in the middle of a rocky stream, is a large and flat stone. Here Tathagata dried his *Kashaya* garment. The traces of the tissue of the robe still remain, as though they were cut out on the rock.

By the side of this, and upon a rock, is a foot-trace of Buddha. Although the "wheel" outline is somewhat obscure, yet, it can be distinctly traced.

On the top of the northern mountain is a *stupa*. From this point Tathagata beheld the town of Magadha,<sup>49</sup> and for seven days explained the law.

To the west of the north gate of the mountain city is the

*sutras*, belonging to the last stage of Buddhist development, are referred to this mountain, as it was the scene of Buddha's latest teaching. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 467; see also Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 50.

<sup>46</sup> Fa-hian, chap. xxix.

<sup>47</sup> Julien translates "The long cavern which traverses the flanks of the mountain." But the "long cavern" is the hole referred to, piercing the side of the rock.

<sup>48</sup> Probably caves or cells. Cunningham understands them to be small rooms built against the cliff (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 467). The Chinese quite bears out this idea.

<sup>49</sup> That is, as it seems, the capital of Magadha, viz., Rajagriha.

mountain called Pi-pu-lo (Vipula-giri).<sup>50</sup> According to the common report of the country it is said, "On the northern side of the south-western crags of this mountain there were formerly five hundred warm springs; now there are only some ten or so; but some of these are warm and others cold, but none of them hot." These springs have their origin to the south of the Snowy Mountains from the Anavatapta (Wu-jeh-no-c'hi) lake,<sup>51</sup> and flowing underground, burst forth here. The water is very sweet and pure, and the taste is like that of the water of the lake. The streams (from the lake) are five hundred in number (branches), and as they pass by the lesser underground fire-abodes (hells), the power of the flames ascending causes the water to be hot. At the mouths of the various hot springs there are placed carved stones, sometimes shaped like lions, and at other times as the heads of white elephants; sometimes stone conduits are constructed, through which the water flows on high (aqueeducts), whilst below there are stone basins, in which the water collects like a pond. Here people of every region come, and from every city, to bathe; those who suffer from any disease are often cured. On the right and left of the warm springs<sup>52</sup> are many stupas and the remains of viharas close together. In all these places the four past Buddhas have sat and walked, and the traces of their so doing are still left. These spots being surrounded by mountains and supplied with water, men of conspicuous virtue and wisdom take up their abode here, and there are many hermits who live here also in peace and solitude.

To the west of the hot springs is the Pippala (Pi-po-lo) stone house.<sup>53</sup> When the Lord of the World was alive in olden

<sup>50</sup> I have restored *Pi-pu-lo* to *Vipula* in deference to Julien. But it might be equally well restored to *Vaibhara* or *Baibhar*, and as Cunningham in his map of Rajeir (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. pl. xiv) places *Baibhar* to the west of the north gate of the town, it would be more agreeable to the account in the text to restore it so. On the other hand, as Hien Tsiang places the hot springs on the south-western slopes of *Pi-po-lo*, and as we are told that "the hot springs of Rajagriha are found at the eastern foot of Mount *Baibhar* and the western foot of Mount *Vipula*" (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 466), it would seem that he must be speaking of *Vipula*.

<sup>51</sup> *Ravanahrad*; in Pali, *Anavatatta*, in Tibetan, *Ma-dros* in Chinese, *Wu-je-nao*. See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx. p. 65, or *Ann. Musée Guimet*, tom. ii. p. 168; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 152, 154; and *ante*, vol. i.

<sup>52</sup> The names of these warm springs are given by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 466).

<sup>53</sup> This stone house is mentioned also by Fa-hian, chap. xxx. He places it to the south of the new city, west about three hundred paces. It would therefore be in Mount *Baibhar*, and Cunningham suggests that *Pi-pu-lo* may be an equivalent for *Vaibhara* (*Arch. Survey*, i. p. 21 n). It may be so, but it is usually restored to *Pipala*. This stone house is supposed to be the same as the present *Sonbhandar*, or "treasury of gold" (*ibid.*). General Cunningham also identifies the *Sonbhandar* cave with

times, he constantly dwelt here. The deep cavern which is behind the walls of this house is the palace abode of an Asura (or, the Asuras). Many Bhikshus who practise *Samadhi* dwell here. Often we may see strange forms, as of Nagas, serpents, and lions, come forth from it. Those who see these things lose their reason and become dazed. Nevertheless, this wonderful place (*excellent land*) is one in which holy saints dwell, and occupying the spot consecrated by such sacred traces, they forget the calamities and evils that threaten them.

Not long ago there was a Bhikshu of a pure and upright life, whose mind was enamoured of solitude and quiet; he desired to practise *Samadhi* concealed in this house. Some one protested and said, "Go not there! Many calamities happen there, and strange things causing death are frequent. It is difficult to practise *Samadhi* in such a spot, and there is constant fear of death. You ought to remember what has happened before time, if you would not reap the fruits of after-repentance." The Bhikshu said, "Not so! My determination is to seek the fruit of Buddha and to conquer the Deva Mara. If these are the dangers of which you speak, what need to name them?" Then he took his pilgrim's staff and proceeded to the house. There he reared an altar and began to recite his magic protective sentences. After the tenth day, a maiden came forth from the cave and addressed the Bhikshu, saying, "Sir of the coloured robes! you observe the precepts, and, with full purpose, you adopt the refuge (*found in Buddha*); you aspire after (*prepare*) wisdom, and practise *Samadhi*, and to promote in yourself spiritual power, so that you may be an illustrious guide of men, you dwell here and alarm me and my fellows! But how is this in agreement with the doctrine of Tathagata?" The Bhikshu said, "I practise a pure life, following the holy teaching (*of Buddha*). I conceal myself among the mountains and dells to avoid the tumult of life. In suddenly bringing a charge against me, I ask where is my fault?" She replied, "Your reverence! when you recite your prayers, the sound causes fire to burst into (*my house*) from without, and burns my abode; it afflicts me and my family! I pray you, pity us, and do not say your charmed prayers any more!"

The Bhikshu said, "I repeat my prayers to defend myself, and not to hurt any living thing. In former days, a religious person (*a disciple*) occupied this place and practised *Samadhi* with a view to obtain the holy fruit and to help the miserable;<sup>54</sup>

the Sattapanni cave. But this seems impossible. Fergusson's remarks on this perplexing subject are intelligible and satisfactory. See *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 49,, 50, and note.

<sup>54</sup> I.e., to succour the people in the dark ways of birth, i.e., demons and pretas and "the lost."

then with unearthly sights he was frightened to death and gave up his life. This was your doing. What have you to say?"

She replied, "Oppressed with a weight of guilt, my wisdom is small indeed; but from this time forth I will bar my house and keep the partition (*between it and this chamber*). Do you, venerable one, on your part, I pray, repeat no more spiritual formulæ."

On this the Bhikshu prepared himself in *Samadhi*, and from that time rested in quiet, none hurting him.

On the top of Mount Vipula (Pi-pu-lo) is a *stupa*. This is where in old times Tathagata repeated the law. At the present time naked heretics (Nirgranthas) frequent this place in great numbers; they practise penance night and day without intermission, and from morn till night walk round (*the stupa*) and contemplate it with respect.

To the left of the northern gate of the mountain city (Girivajja, *Shan-shing*), going east, on the north side of the southern crag (*precipice or cliff*), going 2 or a li, we come to a great stone house in which Devadatta formerly entered *Samadhi*.

Not far to the east of this stone house, on the top of a flat stone, there are coloured spots like blood. By the side of this rock a *stupa* has been built. This is the place where a Bhikshu practising *Samadhi* wounded himself and obtained the fruit of holiness.

There was formerly a Bhikshu who diligently exerted himself in mind and body, and secluded himself in the practice of *Samadhi*. Years and months elapsed, and he had not obtained the holy fruit. Retiring from the spot, he upbraided himself, and then he added with a sigh, "I despair of obtaining the fruit of Arhatship (*freedom from learning*). What use to keep this body, the source of impediment from its very character?" Having spoken thus, he mounted on this stone and gashed his throat. Forthwith he reached the fruit of an Arhat, and ascended into the air and exhibited spiritual changes; finally, his body was consumed by fire, and he reached *Nirvana*.<sup>55</sup> Because of his noble resolution they have built (*this stupa*) as a memorial. To the east of this place, above a rocky crag, there is a stone *stupa*. This is the place where a Bhikshu practising *Samadhi* threw himself down and obtained the fruit. Formerly, when Buddha was alive, there was a Bhikshu who sat quietly in a mountain wild, practising the mode of *Samadhi* leading to Arhatship. For a long time he had exercised the utmost zeal without result. Night and day he restrained his thoughts, nor ever gave up his quiet composure. Tathagata, knowing that his senses were fit for the acquirement (*of emancipation*), went to the place for the

<sup>55</sup> This incident is also related by Fa-hian, Cap. xxx.

purpose of converting him (*perfecting him*). In a moment<sup>56</sup> he transported himself from the garden of bamboos (*Venuvana*) to this mountainside, and there calling him,<sup>57</sup> stood standing awaiting him.

At this time the Bhikshu, seeing from a distance the holy congregation, his heart and body ravished with joy, he cast himself down from the mountain. But by his purity of heart and respectful faith for Buddha's teaching before he reached the ground he gained the fruit of Arhatship. The Lord of the World then spoke and said, "You ought to know the opportunity." Immediately he ascended into the air and exhibited spiritual transformation. To show his pure faith they have raised this memorial.

Going about one li from the north gate of the mountain city we come to the Karandavenuvana (*Kia-lan-t'o-chuh-yuen*),<sup>58</sup> where now the stone foundation and the brick walls of a *vihara* exist. The door faces the east. Tathagata, when in the world, frequently dwelt here, and preached the law for the guidance and conversion of men and to rescue the people. They have now made a figure of Tathagata the size of life. In early days there was in this town a great householder (*grihapati*) called Karanda; at this time he had gained much renown by giving to the heretics a large bamboo garden. Then coming to see Tathagata and hearing his law, he was animated by a true faith. He then regretted that the multitude of unbelievers should dwell in that place. "And now," he said, "the leader of gods and men has no place in which to lodge." Then the spirits and demons, affected by his faithfulness, drove away the heretics, and addressing them said, "Karanda, the householder, is going to erect a *vihara* here for the Buddha; you must get away quickly, lest calamity befall you!"

The heretics, with hatred in their heart and mortified in spirit, went away; thereupon the householder built this *vihara*. When it was finished he went himself to invite Buddha. Thereon Tathagata received the gift.

To the east of the Karandavenuvana is a *stupa* which was built by Ajatasatru-*raja*. After the *Nirvana* of Tathagata the kings divided the relics (*she-li*); the king Ajatasatru returned then with his share, and from a feeling of extreme reverence built (*a stupa*) and offered his religious offerings to it. When Asoka-*raja* (*Wu-yau*) became a believer, he opened it and took

<sup>56</sup>So I understand *tan c'hi*, "in the snapping of a finger." Julien translates it as though Buddha called the Bhikshu by cracking his fingers.

<sup>57</sup>It may be either "calling him" or "calling an assembly."

<sup>58</sup>The bamboo garden of Karanda, or Kalanda. For an account of this garden see Fa-hian, Peal's edit., p. 117, n. 2), and also Julien *in loco*, n. 1; see also Burnouf, *Introd.*, 1st ed. p. 456; *Lalita Vistara*, p. 415.



the relics, and in his turn built another *stupa*. This building constantly emits miraculous light.

By the side of the *stupa* of Ajatasatru-*raja* is another *stupa* which encloses the relics of half of the body of Ananda. Formerly, when the saint was about to reach *Nirvana*, he left the country of Magadha and proceeded to the town of Vaisali (Fei-she-li). As these two countries disputed (*about him*) and began to raise troops, the venerable one, from pity, divided his body into two parts. The king of Magadha, receiving his share, returned and offered to it his religious homage, and immediately prepared in this renowned land, with great honour, to raise a *stupa*. By the side of this building is a place where Buddha walked up and down.

Not far from this a *stupa*. This is the place where Sariputra and Mudgalaputra dwelt during the rainy season.

To the south-west of the bamboo garden (Venuvana) about 5 or 6 li, on the north side of the southern mountain, is a great bamboo forest. In the middle of it is a large stone house. Here the venerable Kasyapa with 999 great Arhats, after Tathagata's *Nirvana*, called a convocation (*for the purpose of settling*) the three *Patakas*.<sup>59</sup> Before it is the old foundation-wall. King Ajatasatru made this hall<sup>60</sup> for the sake of accommodating the great Arhats who assembled to settle the *Dharma-pitaka*.

At first, when Maha Kasyapa was seated in silent (*study*) in the desert (*mountain forests*), suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. Then he said, "What fortunate change of events is there, that this miracle should occur?" Then exerting his divine sight, he saw the Lord Buddha between the two trees entering *Nirvana*. Forthwith he ordered his followers to accompany him to the city of Kusinagara (Ku-shi). On the way they met a Brahman holding in his hands a divine flower. Kasyapa, addressing him, said, "Whence come you? Know you where our great teacher is at present?" The Brahman replied and said, "I have but just come from yonder city of Kusinagara, where I saw your great master just entered into *Nirvana*. A vast multitude of heavenly beings were around him offering their gifts in worship, and this flower, which I hold, I brought thence."

<sup>59</sup> This is the famous Sattapanni cave, in which the "first Buddhist council" was held. "At the entrance of the Sattapanna cave in the Magadha town (compare *ante*, n. 45) Giribbaja (*i.e.*, Girivraja or Rajagriha) the first council was finished after seven months" (*Dipavamsa* (Oldenberg) v. 5). In connection with this extract I would refer to the sentence preceding it (4), where we have named "the *second* beginning of the Vassa season." This seems to explain the constant use of the expression, the "double resting season," by Hiuen Tsiang. See below, n. 61.

<sup>60</sup> The hall appears to have been structural; the cave at the back was natural. See Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 49.

Kasyapa having heard these words said to his followers, "The sun of wisdom has quenched his rays. The world is now in darkness. The illustrious guide has left us and gone, and all flesh must fall into calamity."

Then the careless Bhikshus said one to another with satisfaction, "Tathagata has gone to rest. This is good for us, for now, if we transgress, who is there to reprove or restrain us?"

Then Kasyapa, having heard this, was deeply moved and afflicted, and he resolved to assemble (*collect*) the treasure of the law (*Dharma-pitaka*) and bring to punishment the transgressors. Accordingly he proceeded to the two trees, and regarding Buddha, he offered worship.

And now the King of the Law having gone from the world, both men and Devas were left without a guide, and the great Arhats, moreover, were cleaving to (*the idea of their*) *Nirvana*. Then the great Kasyapa reflected thus: "To secure obedience to the teaching of Buddha, we ought to collect the *Dharma-pitaka*." On this he ascended Mount Sumeru and sounded the great gong (*ghanta*), and spake thus: "Now then, in the town of Rajagriha there is going to be a religious assembly.<sup>61</sup> Let all those who have obtained the fruit (*of arhatship*) hasten to the spot."

In connection with the sounding of the gong the direction of Kasyapa spread far and wide through the great chiliocosm, and all those possessed of spiritual capabilities, hearing the instructions, assembled in convocation. At this time Kasyapa addressed the assembly and said, "Tathagata having died (*attained to extinction or Nirvana*), the world is empty. We ought to collect the *Dharmapitaka*, in token of our gratitude to Buddha. Now then, being about to accomplish this, there should be profound composure (*quiet*). How can this be done in the midst of such a vast multitude? Those who have acquired the three species of knowledge (*trividyā*), who have obtained the six supernatural faculties (*shadabhiñjas*), who have kept the law without failure, whose powers of discrimination (*dialectic*) are clear, such superior persons as these may stop and form the assembly. Those who are learners with only limited fruit, let such depart to their homes."

On this 999 men were left; but he excluded Ananda, as being yet a learner. Then the great Kasyapa, calling him, addressed him thus: "You are not yet free from defects; you must leave the holy assembly." He replied, "During many years I have followed Tathagata as his attendant; every assembly that has been held for considering the law, I have joined; but now, as you are going to hold an assembly after his death (*wai*),

<sup>61</sup> A business relating to religion; religious proceeding.

I find myself excluded; the King of the Law having died, I have lost my dependence and helper."

Kasyapa said, "Do not cherish your sorrow! You were a personal attendant on Buddha indeed, and you therefore heard much, and so you loved (*much*), and therefore you are not free from all the ties that bind (*the soul or affections*)."

Ananda, with words of submission, retired and came to a desert place, desiring to reach a condition "beyond learning; he strove for this without intermission, but with no result. At length, wearied out, he desired one day to lie down. Scarcely had his head reached the pillow<sup>62</sup> when lo! he obtained the condition of an Arhat.

He then went to the assembly, and knocking at the door, announced his arrival. Kasyapa then asked him, saying, "Have you got rid of all ties? In that case exercise your spiritual power and enter without the door being opened!" Ananda, in compliance with the order, entered through the keyhole,<sup>63</sup> and having paid reverence to the priesthood, retired and sat down.

At this time fifteen days of the summer rest (*Varshavasana*) had elapsed. On this Kasyapa rising, said, "Consider well and listen! Let Ananda, who ever heard the words of Tathagata, collect by singing through<sup>64</sup> the *Sutra-pitaka*. Let Upali (Yeu-po-li), who clearly understands the rules of discipline (*Vinaya*), and is well known to all who know, collect the *Vinaya-pitaka*; and I, Kasyapa, will collect the *Abhidharma-pitaka*." The three months of rain<sup>65</sup> being past, the collection of the *Tripitaka* was finished. As the great Kasyapa was the president (*Sthavira*) among the priests, it is called the *Sthavira* (Chang-tso pu) convocation.<sup>66</sup>

North-west of the place where the great Kasyapa held the convocation is a *stupa*. This is where Ananda, being forbidden by the priests to take part in the assembly, came and sat down in silence and reached the fruit (*position*) of an Arhat. After this he joined the assembly.

Going west from this point 20 li or so, is a *stupa* built by Asoka-rajā. This is the spot where the "great assembly" (*Mahasangha*) formed their collection of books (*or*, held their assembly). Those who had not been permitted to join Kasyapa's assembly, whether learners or those above learning (*Arhats*), to

<sup>62</sup> For a similar account of Ananda's illumination, see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 72, and compare the whole account.

<sup>63</sup> In other accounts it is stated he entered through the wall.

<sup>64</sup> Chanting or rehearsing, *sangiti*.

<sup>65</sup> Or, the second "three months." It is to be noted that the season of *Wass* was twofold, either the first "three months" or, the second "three months."

<sup>66</sup> This is contrary to the usual explanation, which makes the *Sthavira* school date from the second convocation at Vaisali.

the number 100,000 men, came together to this spot and said, "Whilst Tathagata was alive we all had a common master, but now that the King of the Law is dead it is different. We too wish to show our gratitude to Buddha, and we also will hold an assembly for collecting the scriptures." On this the common folk with the holy disciples came to the assembly (*all assembled*), the foolish and wise alike flocked together and collected the *Sutra-pitaka*, the *Vinaya-pitaka*, the *Abhidharma-pitaka*, the miscellaneous *Pitaka* (*Khuddakanikaya*),<sup>67</sup> and the *Dharani-pitaka*. Thus they distinguished five *Pitakas*. And because in this assembly both common folk and holy personages were mixed together, it was called "the assembly of the great congregation" (*Mahasangha*).<sup>68</sup>

To the north of the Venuvana Vihara about 200 paces we come to the Karanda lake (*Karandahrada*). When Tathagata was in the world he preached often here. The water was pure and clear, and possessed of the eight qualities.<sup>69</sup> After the *Nirvana* of Buddha it dried up and disappeared.

To the north-west of the *Karandahrada*, at a distance of 2 or 3 li, is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. It is about 60 feet high; by the side of it is a stone pillar on which is a record engraved relating to the foundation of the *stupa*. It is about 50 feet high, and on the top has the figure of an elephant.

To the north-east of the stone pillar, not far, we come to the town of *Rajagriha*<sup>70</sup> (*Ho-lo-shi-ki-li-hi*). The outer walls of this city have been destroyed, and there are no remnants of them left; the inner city (*walls*),<sup>71</sup> although in a ruined state, still have some elevation from the ground, and are about 20 li in circuit. In the first case, *Bimbisara-*raja** established his residence in *Kusagara*; in this place the houses of the people, being close together, were frequently burned with fire and destroyed. When one house was in flames, it was impossible to prevent the whole neighbourhood sharing in the calamity, and consequently the whole was burned up. Then the people made loud complaints, and were unable to rest quietly in their dwellings. The king said, "By my demerit the lower people are afflicted; what deed of goodness (*meritorious virtue*) can I do in order to be exempt from such calamities?" His ministers said, "*Maharaja*, your virtuous government spreads peace and harmony, your righteous

<sup>67</sup> Or perhaps the *Sannipatanikaya*.

<sup>68</sup> This account, too, differs from the common tradition, which makes this school of the great assembly date from the schism at *Vaisali*. The statement, however, of *Hsuen Tsiang*, that the additional *pitakas* were collated at this assembly is a useful and suggestive one.

<sup>69</sup> For the eight qualities of water see *J. R. A. S.*, vol. ii. pp. 1, 141.

<sup>70</sup> "The royal abode" (*Wang she*). This is what *Fa-hian* calls "the new city." It was to the north of the mountains.

<sup>71</sup> That is, the walls of the royal precincts or the citadel.

rule causes light and progress. It is by want of due attention on the part of the people that these calamities of fire occur. It is necessary to make a severe law to prevent such occurrences hereafter. If a fire breaks out, the origin must be diligently sought for, and to punish the principal guilty person, let him be driven into the cold forest. Now this cold forest (*sitavana*) is the place of corpses abandoned (*cast out*) there. Every one esteems it an unlucky place, and the people of the land avoid going there and passing through it. Let him be banished there as a cast-out corpse. From dread of this fate, the people will become careful and guard (*against the outbreak of fire*)." The king said, "It is well; let this announcement be made, and let the people attend to it."

And now it happened that the king's palace was the first to be burned with fire. Then he said to his ministers, "I myself must be banished;" and he gave up the government to his eldest son in his own place. "I wish to maintain the laws of the country (*he said*); I therefore myself am going into exile."

At this time the king of Vaisali hearing that Bimbisara-*raja* was dwelling alone in the "cold forest," raised an army and put it in movement to invade (*make a foray*) when nothing was ready (*to resist him*). The lords of the marches (*forntiers*), hearing of it, built a town,<sup>72</sup> and as the king was the first to inhabit it, it was called "the royal city" (*Rajagriha*). Then the ministers and the people all flocked there with their families.

It is also said that Ajatasatru-*raja* first founded this city, and the heir-apparent of Ajatasatru having come to the throne, he also appointed it to be the capital, and so it continued till the time of Asoka-*raja*, who changed the capital to Pataliputra, and gave the city of Rajagriha to the Brahmans, so that now in the city there are no common folk to be seen, but only Brahmans to the number of a thousand families.

At the south-west angle of the royal precincts<sup>73</sup> are two small *sangharamas*; the priests who come and go, and are strangers in the place, lodge here. Here also Buddha, when alive, delivered the law (*preached*). North-west from this is a *stupa*; this is the site of an old village where the householder Jyotishka<sup>74</sup> (*Ch'u-ti-se-kia*) was born.

Outside the south gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *stupa*. Here Tathagata preached and converted Rahula (*Lo-hu-lo*).<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> That is, as it seems, in the place where the king was living. From this it would appear that the site of the new town of Rajagriha, had been before used as a burial-place for the people of the "old town."

<sup>73</sup> I.e., of the inner city of Rajagriha.

<sup>74</sup> In Chinese *Sing* lib, "constellation" or "star collection."

<sup>75</sup> If this *Lo-hu-lo* be the son of Buddha, his conversion is generally stated to have occurred at Kapilavastu (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 206).

Going north from this 30 li or so, we come to Nalanda *sangharama*.<sup>76</sup> The old accounts of the country say that to the south of this *sangharama*, in the middle of an Amra ('An-mo-lo) grove, there is a tank. The Naga of this tank is called Nalanda.<sup>77</sup> By the side of it is built the *sangharama*, which therefore takes the name (*of the Naga*). But the truth is that Tathagata in old days practised the life of a Bodhisattva here, and became the king of a great country, and established his capital in this land. Moved by pity for living things, he delighted in continually relieving them. In remembrance of this virtue he was called<sup>78</sup> "charity without intermission;" and the *sangharama* was called in perpetuation of this name. The site was originally an Amra garden. Five hundred merchants bought it for ten *kotis* of gold pieces and gave it to Buddha. Buddha preached the law here during three months, and the merchants and others obtained the fruit of holiness. Not long after the *Nirvana* of Buddha, a former king of this country named Sakraditya (Shi-kia-lo-'o-t'ie-to) respected and esteemed the (*system of the*) one Vehicle<sup>79</sup> and honoured very highly the three treasures.<sup>80</sup> Having selected ~~by augury a lucky spot~~, he built this *sangharama*. When he began the work he wounded, in digging, the body of the Naga. At this time there was a distinguished soothsayer belonging to the heretical sect of the Nirgranthas. He having seen the occurrence, left this record: "This is a very superior site. If you build here a *sangharama*, it must of necessity become highly renowned. Throughout the five Indies it will be a model. For a period of a thousand years it will flourish still. Students of all degrees will here easily accomplish their studies. But many will spit blood because of this wound given to the Naga."

His son, Buddhagupta-raja (Fo-t'o-kio-to), who succeeded him, continued to labour at the excellent undertaking of his father. To the south of this he built another *sangharama*.

Tathagatagupta-raja (Ta-tha-kie-to-kio-lo) vigorously practis-

<sup>76</sup> Nalanda has been identified with the village of Baragaon, which lies seven miles north of Rajgir (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 468).

<sup>77</sup> According to I-tsing the name Nalanda is derived from Naga Nanda (see *J. R. A. S., N.S.*, vol. xiii. p. 571). For a description of this temple of Nalanda see "Two Chinese Buddhist Inscriptions found at Buddha Gaya," *J. R. A. S., N.S.*, vol. xiii. t. c. See also *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 140.

<sup>78</sup> So I understand the passage. It has no reference to the Naga. The word Nalanda would thus appear to be derived from *na-talam+da*, "not giving enough," or "not having enough to give."

<sup>79</sup> The "one Vehicle," according to the authority quoted by Julien (n. 2 in loco) is "the vehicle of Buddha, which is compared to a car formed of seven precious substances, and drawn by a white ox." But the expression, "one Vehicle," is a common one in later Buddhist books to denote the nature of Buddha, to which we all belong, and to which we all shall return.

<sup>80</sup> *Triratnani*—Buddha, dharma, sangha.



the former rules (of his ancestors), and he built east from this another *sangharama*.

Baladitya-raja (P'o-lo-'o-tie-lo) succeeded to the empire. On the north-east side he built a *sangharama*. The work being done, he called together an assembly for congratulation. He respected equally the obscure and the renowned, and invited common folk and men of religion (*holiness*) without distinction. The priests of all India came together for the distance of 10,000 li. After all were seated and at rest, two priests arrived. They led them up the three-storeyed pavilion. Then they asked them, saying, "The king, when about to call the assembly, first asked men of all degrees (*common and holy*). From what quarter do your reverences come so late?" They said, "We are from the country of China. Our teacher<sup>81</sup> was sick. Having nourished him, we set out to accept the king's far-off invitation."<sup>82</sup> This is the reason why we have arrived so late."

The assembly hearing this, were filled with astonishment, and proceeded at once to inform the king. The king knowing that they were holy persons, went himself to interrogate them. He mounted the pavilion, but he knew not where they had gone.<sup>83</sup> The king then was affected by a profound faith; he gave up his country and became a recluse. Having done so, he placed himself as the lowest of the priests, but his heart was always uneasy and ill at rest. "Formerly (*he said*) I was a king, and the highest among the honourable; but now I have become a recluse, I am degraded to the bottom of the priesthood." Forthwith he went to the priests, and said words to the above effect. On this the *sangha* resolved that they who had not received the full orders should be classed according to their natural years of life.<sup>84</sup> This *sangharama* is the only one in which this law exists.

This king's son, called Vajra (Fa-she-lo), come to the throne in succession, and was possessed of a heart firm in the faith. He again built on the west side of the convent a *sangharama*.

After this a king of Central India built to the north of this

<sup>81</sup> It is true the symbol *shang* in this phrase is not the same as that forming the second member of the word *hoshang* (upadhyaya), but they are the same in sound, and therefore I think *ko-shang* in the text should be translated "teacher."

<sup>82</sup> That is, the invitation coming from a long distance.

<sup>83</sup> That is, he ascended the pavilion with three stages where the strangers from China had been received; but when he arrived he found they had departed.

<sup>84</sup> The usual order was that they should be classed according to the number of years they had been "professed disciples;" but in the convent of Baladitya the order was that they should be classed according to their natural age, up to the time of their full ordination. The king, although he had become a disciple, was not fully ordained.

a great *sangharama*. Moreover, he built round these edifices a high wall with one gate.<sup>85</sup> A long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvellous to behold. The king<sup>86</sup> said, "In the hall of the monarch who first began the *sangharama* I will place a figure of Buddha, and I will feed forty priests of the congregation every day to show my gratitude to the founder."

The priests, to the number of several thousands, are men of the highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblamable. They follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. The rules of this convent are severe, and all the priests are bound to observe them. The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripitaka* are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then the streams (*of their wisdom*) spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name (*of Nalanda students*), and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence. If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer, and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new (*books*) before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers, have to show their ability by hard discussion; those who fail compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten. The other two or three of moderate talent, when they come to discuss in the assembly, are sure to be humbled, and to forfeit their renown. But with respect to those of conspicuous talent of solid learning, great ability, illustrious virtue, distinguished men, these connect (*their high names*) with the succession (*of celebrities belonging to the college*), such as Dharmapala (Hu-fa)<sup>87</sup> and Chandrapala (Hu-yueh),<sup>88</sup> who excited by their bequathed teaching the thoughtless and worldly; Gunamati (Tih-hwui)<sup>89</sup> and Sthiramati

<sup>85</sup> That is, to enter the whole area.

<sup>86</sup> But it is not said what king. The symbol, too, is *ti*, not *wang*. Is Siladitya referred to? He was not to take the name of *wang* or *ta wang* (see vol. i. n. 21).

<sup>87</sup> A native of Kanchipura, author of the *Sabdavidya-samyukta Sastra* (Max Muller, pp. 308 n., 309-310 and n., 346, 348-349, 361).

<sup>88</sup> See Vassilief; Max Muller, *India*, p. 311.

<sup>89</sup> Max Muller, *India*, p. 305 and n., pp. 309-310 n., p. 362.

(Kin-hwui)<sup>90</sup> the streams of whose superior teaching spread abroad even now; Prabhamitra (Kwang-yeu),<sup>91</sup> with his clear discourses; Jinamitra (Shing-yeu),<sup>92</sup> with his exalted eloquence; the pattern and fame (*sayings and doings*) of Jnanachandra (Chi-yueh)<sup>93</sup> reflect his brilliant activity; Sigrabuddha (?) (Ming-min), and Silabhadra (Kiai-hien),<sup>94</sup> and other eminent men whose names are lost. These illustrious personages, known to all, excelled in their attainments (*virtue*) all their distinguished predecessors, and passed the bounds of the ancients in their learning. Each of these composed some tens of treatises and commentaries which were widely diffused, and which for their perspicuity are passed down to the present time.

The sacred relics on the four sides of the convent are hundreds in number. For brevity's sake we will recount two or three. On the western side of the *sangharama*, at no great distance, is a *vihara*. Here Tathagata in old days stopped for three months and largely expounded the excellent law for the good of the Devas.

To the south 100 paces or so is a small *stupa*. This is the place where a Bhikshu from a distant region saw Buddha. Formerly there was a Bhikshu who came from a distant region. Arriving at this spot, he met the multitude of disciples accompanying Buddha, and was affected inwardly with a feeling of reverence, and so prostrated himself on the ground, at the same time uttering a strong desire that he might obtain the position of a Chakravartti monarch. Tathagata having seen him, spoke to his followers thus: "That Bhikshu ought much to be pitied. The power (character) of his religious merit is deep and distant";<sup>95</sup> his faith is strong. If he were to seek the fruit of Buddha, not long hence he would obtain it; but now that he has earnestly prayed to become a Chakravartti king, he will in future ages receive this reward: as many grains of dust as there are from the spot where he has thrown himself on the earth down

<sup>90</sup> Pupil of Arya Asanga (Max Muller, pp. 305, 310 n., 318 n.; Vassilief, pp. 59, 78, 226-227, 305).

<sup>91</sup> Po-lo-pho-mi-to-lo of Central India, by caste a Kshattriya. He reached China in A.D. 627, and died in 633 at the age of sixty-nine (Beal, *Abs. Four Lect.*, p. 28; Max Muller, *Ind.*, p. 312).

<sup>92</sup> Eitel, p. 37.

<sup>93</sup> Max Muller, *Ind.*, pp. 312-361; Eitel, *Djnanatchandra*.

<sup>94</sup> The favourite teacher of Hiuen Tsiang; Max Muller, *India*, pp. 310, 343; Eitel, *s. v.*

<sup>95</sup> This is the literal meaning of the symbols. Ju'ien translates, "he has a profound virtue." It may mean that his religious merit, though deep, will have but a distant reward.

to the very middle of the gold wheel,<sup>96</sup> so many Chakravarti kings will there be for reward<sup>97</sup> but having fixed his mind on earthly joys, the fruit of holiness is far off.<sup>98</sup>

On this southern side is a standing figure of Kwan-tsz'-tsai (Avalokitesvara) Bodhisatta. Sometimes he is seen holding a vessel of perfume going to the *vihara* of Buddha and turning round to the right.

To the south of this statue is a *stupa*, in which are remains of Buddha's hair and nails cut during three months. Those persons afflicted with children's complaints,<sup>99</sup> coming here and turning round religiously, are mostly healed.

To the west of this, outside the wall, and by the side of a tank, is a *stupa*. This is where a heretic, holding a sparrow in his hand, asked Buddha questions relating to death and birth.

To the south-east about 50 paces, within the walls, is an extraordinary tree, about eight or nine feet in height, of which the trunk is twofold. When Tathagata of old time was in the world, he flung his tooth-cleaner (*dantakashtha*) on the ground here, where it took root. Although many months and years have elapsed since then, the tree neither decreases nor increases.<sup>100</sup>

Next to the east there is a great *vihara* about 200 feet in height. Here Tathagata, residing for four months, explained various excellent laws.

After this, to the north 100 paces or so, is a *vihara* in which is a figure of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bodhisattva. The disciples of pure faith, who offer their religious gifts, do not all see the place he occupies alike; it is not fixed.<sup>101</sup> Sometimes he (*i.e.*, the figure) seems to be standing by the side of the door; sometimes he goes out in front of the eaves. Religious people, both clerics and laics, from all parts come together in numbers to offer their gifts.

To the north of this *vihara* is a great *vihara*, in height about 300 feet, which was built by Baladitya-*raja* (Po-lo'-o-tie-to-wang). With respect to its magnificence, its dimensions, and the statue

<sup>96</sup> *I.e.*, to the middle of the earth where the gold wheel is.

<sup>97</sup> *I.e.*, so many times will he be a Chakravarti king.

<sup>98</sup> This seems to explain the words "deep and distant." See above n. 95.

<sup>99</sup> Or it may be translated, "those afflicted with complicated diseases." The symbol *ying* means either "a babe" or "to add or increase."

<sup>100</sup> After having used the *dantakashtha* for cleaning the teeth, it was usual to divide it into two parts, hence the double trunk of the tree (compare Julien in *loc.*, n. 1). The *dantakashtha* in the original is "chewing-willow-twig." The wood used in India is the *Acacia catechu*; see *ante*, vol. i; and Julien's note, tome I., p. 55.

<sup>101</sup> Or, "do not all see what they see alike. The place he occupies is not fixed."

of Buddha placed in it, it resembles (*is the same as*) the great *vihara* built under the *Bodhi* tree.<sup>102</sup>

To the north-east of this is a *stupa*. Here Tathagata in days gone by explained the excellent law for seven days.

To the north-west is a place where the four past Buddhas sat down.

To the south of this is a *vihara* of brass<sup>103</sup> built by Siladitya-*raja*. Although it is not yet finished, yet its intended measurement, when finished (*to plan*), will be 100 feet.<sup>104</sup>

Next to the eastward 200 paces or so, outside the walls, is a figure of Buddha standing upright and made of copper. Its height is about 80 feet. A pavilion of six stages is required to cover it. It was formerly made by Purnavarma-*raja* (Mwan-cheu).

To the north of this statue 2 or 3 li, in a *vihara* constructed of brick, is a figure of Tara Bodhisattva (To-lo-p'u-sa). This figure is of great height, and its spiritual appearance very striking. Every fast-day of the year large offerings are made to it. The kings and ministers and great people of the neighbouring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days.

Within the southern gate of the wall is a large well. Formerly, when Buddha was alive, a great company of merchants parched with thirst came here to the spot where Buddha was. The Lord of the World, pointing to this place, said, "You will find water there." The chief of the merchants, piercing the earth with the end of the axle of his cart, immediately water rushed

<sup>102</sup> This is the great *vihara* supposed to have been built by Amara-deva. With respect to this and the whole subject, the controversies and theories respecting its date, see Dr. Rajendraia! Mitra's work on the *stupa* at Buddha Gaya.

<sup>103</sup> *Yu-shih*, "calamine stone, used in the formation of brass" (Medhurst). There is much confusion in the use of the symbols *teou shi* and *yu shi*. The former is explained by Medhurst (sub voc. *t'how*) "as a kind of stone resembling metal, which the Chinese call the finest kind of native copper. It is found in the Posse country and resembles gold. On the application of fire it assumes a red colour, and does not turn black." But *yu shi* (which seems to be intended in the passage in the text, although Julien renders it *theou chi*) is explained by Medhurst (sub voc. *shih*) to be "calamine stone, used in the formation of brass." The calamine stone is the *cadmia* of Pliny—"fit et e lapide ceroso, quem vocant cadmiam" (vol. ii. cap. xxxiv. § 2). Cadmus is fabled to have discovered its use in the composition of brass, and hence the name. It may be called calamine from its place of exportation, Calamina, at the mouth of the Indus; hence the Chinese say it comes from Po-sse. Brass being capable of being rolled into thin sheets (*latten* or *Dutch metal*), might easily be used in covering the walls of building. It was so used probably by Siladitya in the case under notice.

<sup>104</sup> Not in height, but in length.

out from the ground. Having drunk and heard the law, they all obtained the fruit of holiness.

Going south-west 8 or 9 li from the *sangharama*, we come to the village of *Kutika* (Kiu-li-kia). In it is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. This is where the venerable Mudgalaputra (Mo-te-kia-lo-tseu) was born. By the side of the village is a *stupa*. This is where the Venerable One reached complete *Nirvana*,<sup>105</sup> and in it are placed the remains of his bequeathed body. The venerable (Mahamudgalaputra) was of a great Brahman family, and was an intimate friend of Sariputra when they were young. This Sariputra was renowned for the clearness of his dialectic skill; the other for his persevering and deep penetration. Their gifts and wisdom were alike, and moving or standing they were always together.<sup>106</sup> Their aims and desires from beginning to end were just the same. They had together left the world from distaste to its pleasures, and as hermits had followed Sanjaya (Shen-she-ye) as their master.<sup>107</sup> Sariputra having met Asvajita (Ma-shing) the Arhat, hearing the law, understood its holy (meaning).<sup>108</sup> On returning he repeated what he had heard for the sake of the venerable (Mudgalaputra). On this he understood the meaning of the law and reached the first fruit.<sup>109</sup> Then with 250 followers he went to the place where Buddha was. The Lord of the World, seeing him at a distance, pointing him out, said to his disciples, "That one coming here will be the first among my followers in the exercise of spiritual faculties (*miraculous powers*)."<sup>109</sup> Having reached the place where Buddha was, he requested to enter the law (*the society*). The Lord replying, said, "Welcome, O Bhikshu; carefully practise a pure life, and you shall escape the limits of sorrow." Hearing this his hair fell off, and his common robes were changed into others. Observing in their purity the sections of the rules of moral discipline, and being in his exterior behaviour faultless, after seven days, getting rid of all the bounds of sin, he reached the condition of an Arhat and the supernatural powers.

East of the old village of Mudgalaputra, going 3 or 4 li we come to a *stupa*. This is the place where Bimbisara-raja went to have an interview with Buddha. When Tathagata first obtained the fruit of a Buddha, knowing that the hearts of the

<sup>105</sup> Literally, *Nirvana* "without remains" (*anupadisesa*). For the meaning of this phrase consult Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub voc. *Nibbanam*. Julien renders it *Parinirvana*.

<sup>106</sup> For an account of these two disciples. see *Fo-sho-king*, *varga* 17. They are called Seriyut and Mugalan in Pali.—Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 181.

<sup>107</sup> "There was at this time in Rajagaha a famous paribrajika called Sanga. To him they (Seriyut and Mugalan) went, and they remained with him some time."—*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 195.

<sup>108</sup> Or, understood the holy one i.e., Asvajita.

<sup>109</sup> I.e., became a Srotapanna.



people of the Magadha were waiting for him athirst, he accepted the invitation of Bimbisara-*raja*, and early in the morning, putting on his robes, he took his begging-dish, and with a thousand Bhikshus around him, on the right hand and the left (*he advanced*). In front and behind these there were a number of aged Brahmans who went with twisted hair (*jalina*), and being desirous of the law, wore their dyed garments (*chivara*). Followed by such a throng, he entered the city of Rajagriha.

Then Lord Sakra (Ti-shih), king of Devas, changing his appearance into that of a Manava (Ma-na-p'o) youth,<sup>110</sup> with a crown upon his head and his hair bound up, in his left hand holding a golden pitcher and in his right a precious staff, he walked above the earth four fingers high, leading Buddha along the road in front, in the midst of the vast assembly. Then the king of the Magadha country, Bimbisara (Pin-pi-so-lo) by name, accompanied by all the Brahman householders within the land, and the merchants (*ku-sse*), 100,000 myriads in all, going before and behind, leading and following, proceeded from the city of Rajagriha to meet and escort the holy congregation.

South-east from the spot where Bimbisara-*raja* met Buddha, at a distance of about 20 li, we come to the town of Kalapinaka (*Kia-lo-pi-na-kia*). In this town is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. This is the place where Sariputra, the venerable one, was born. The well<sup>111</sup> of the place still exists. By the side of the place<sup>112</sup> is a *stupa*. This is where the venerable one obtained *Nirvana*; the relics of his body, therefore, are enshrined therein. He also was of a high Brahman family. His father was a man of great learning and erudition; he penetrated thoroughly the most intricate questions. There were no books he had not thoroughly investigated. His wife had a dream and told it to her husband. "Last night," said she, "during my sleep my dreams were troubled by a strange man<sup>113</sup> whose body was covered with armour; in his hand he held a diamond mace with which he broke the mountains; departing, he stood at the foot of one particular mountain." "This dream," the husband said, "is extremely good. You will bear a son of deep learning; he will be honoured in the world, and will attack the treatises of all the masters and break down their teaching (*schools*). Being led to consider, he will become the disciple of one who is more than human."<sup>114</sup>

<sup>110</sup> That is, a young Brahman.

<sup>111</sup> This may also mean "the stone foundation."

<sup>112</sup> Julien says, "by the side of the well." But refer to the account of Mudgalaputra's birthplace. The original is "the well of the village," not "of the house."

<sup>113</sup> By intercourse with a strange man.

<sup>114</sup> This is an obscure sentence, but it seems to correspond with the dream of the man standing at the foot of a mountain. Buddha is con-

And so in due course she conceived a child. All at once she was greatly enlightened. She discoursed in high and powerful language, and her words were not to be overthrown. When the venerable one began to be eight years old, his reputation was spread in every direction. His natural disposition was pure and simple, his heart loving and compassionate. He broke through all impediments in his way, and perfected his wisdom. He formed a friendship when young with Mudgalaputra, and being deeply disgusted with the world, and having no system to adopt as a refuge, he went with Mudgalaputra to the heretic Sanjaya's abode, and practised (*his mode of salvation*). Then they said together, "This is not the system of final deliverance,<sup>115</sup> nor is it able to rescue us from the trammels of sorrow. Let us each seek for an illustrious guide. He who first obtains *sweet dew*,<sup>116</sup> let him make the taste common to the other."<sup>117</sup>

At this time the great Arhat Asvajita, holding in his hand his proper measure bowl (*patra*), was entering the city begging for food.

Sariputra seeing his dignified exterior and his quiet and becoming manner, forthwith asked him, "Who is your master?" He answered, "The prince of the Sakya tribe, disgusted with the world, becoming a hermit, has reached perfect wisdom. This one is my master." Sariputra added, "And what doctrine does he teach? May I find a way to hear it?" "I have but just received instruction, and have not yet penetrated the deep doctrine." Sariputra said, "Pray tell me (*repeat*) what you have heard." Then Asvajita, so far as he could, explained it and spoke. Sariputra having heard it, immediately reached the first fruit, and went forthwith 250 of his followers, to the place where Buddha was dwelling.

The Lord of the World, seeing him afar off, pointing to him and addressing his followers, said, "Yonder comes one who will be most distinguished for wisdom among my disciples." Having reached the place, he bent his head in worship and asked to be permitted to follow the teaching of Buddha. The Lord said to him, "Welcome, O Bhikshu."

Having heard these words, he was forthwith ordained.<sup>118</sup>

stantly spoken of as "a mountain of gold"; and the expression *puk ju yih jin*, "not as one man," seems to allude to the superhuman character of Sariputra's future teacher. On the other hand, Julien translates it, "there will not be a greater honour for a man than to become his disciple"; or, "nothing will be considered so great an honour to a man as to become his disciple," and this perhaps is the meaning of the passage.

<sup>115</sup> "The highest" or "absolute truth."

<sup>116</sup> That is, "the water of immortality"; the doctrine of Buddha.

<sup>117</sup> I.e., let him communicate the knowledge of that system of salvation (*sweet dew*).

<sup>118</sup> Admitted to undertake the duties of the moral code of discipline.

Half a month after, hearing Buddha preach the law on account of a Brahman<sup>119</sup> called "Long-nails" (Dirghanakha), together with other discourses,<sup>120</sup> and understanding them with a lively emotion, he obtained the fruit of an Arhat. After this, Ananda hearing Buddha speak about his *Nirvana*, it was noised abroad and talked about (*by the disciples*). Each one was affected with grief. Sariputra was doubly touched with sorrow, and could not endure the thought of seeing Buddha die. Accordingly, he asked the Lord that he might die first. The lord said, "Take advantage of your opportunity."

He then bade adieu to the disciples and came to his native village. His followers, the Sramaneras, spread the news everywhere through the towns and villages. Ajatasatru-*raja* and his people hastened together as the wind, and assembled in clouds to the assembly, whilst Sariputra repeated at large the teaching of the law. Having heard it, they went away. In the middle of the following night, with fixed (*correct*) thought, and mind restrained, he entered the *Samadhi* called "final extinction." After awhile, having risen out of it, he died.

Four or five li to the south-east of the town Kalapinaka<sup>121</sup> is a *stupa*. This is the spot where a disciple of Sariputra reached *Nirvana*. It is otherwise said, "When Kasyapa Buddha was in the world, then three *kotis* of great Arhats entered the condition of complete *Nirvana* in this place."

Going 30 li or so to the east of this last-named *stupa*, we come to Indrasailaguha mountain (*In-t'o-lo-shi-lo-kia-ho-shan*).<sup>122</sup> The precipices and valleys of this mountain are dark and gloomy. Flowering trees grow thickly together like forests. The summit has two peaks, which rise up sharply and by themselves. On the south side of the western peak<sup>123</sup> between the crags is a great stone house,<sup>124</sup> wide but not high. Here Tathagata in old time was stopping when Sakra, king of Devas, wrote on the

<sup>119</sup> This Brahman or Brahmacharin (*ch'ang-chao-fan-chi*) is well known, as there is a work called *Dirghanakha parivrajaka pariprichchha* (*Jul. note in loc.*)

<sup>120</sup> Or, the end of the discourse; but the symbol *chu* generally means "the rest."

<sup>121</sup> For some remarks on Kalapinaka, see *Fa-hian* (Beal's edition), p. 111, n. 2.

<sup>122</sup> "The-cavern-of-Indra mountain." The "rocky hill standing by itself," named by *Fa-hian*, chap. xxviii. has been identified by General Cunningham (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 18) with the western peak of this hill. The northern range of hills, that stretch from the neighbourhood of Gaya to the bank of the Panchana river, a distance of about thirty-six miles, end abruptly in two lofty peaks; the higher of the two on the west is called *Giryek*. This is the one referred to by *Fa-hian*. (See Cunningham, *Arch. Survey*, vol. i. pp. 16, 17, and vol. iii. p. 150).

<sup>123</sup> Julien has omitted the symbol for west.

<sup>124</sup> Now called *Gidha-dwar*; in Sanskrit, *Gridhradwara*, "the vulture's opening."

stone matters relating to forty-two doubts which he had, and asked Buddha respecting them.<sup>125</sup>

Then Buddha explained the matters. The traces of these figures still exist. Persons now try to imitate by comparison these ancient holy figures (*figure forms*).<sup>126</sup> Those who enter the cave to worship are seized with a sort of religious trepidation.

On the top of the mountain ridge are traces where the four former Buddhas sat and walked, still remaining. On the top of the eastern peak is a *sangharama*; the common account is this: when the priests who dwell here look across in the middle of the night at the western peak, where the stone chamber is, they see before the image of Buddha lamps and torches constantly burning.

Before the *sangharama* on the eastern peak of the Indrasaila-guha mountain is a *stupa* which is called Hansa (Keng-sha).<sup>127</sup> Formerly the priests of this *sangharama* studied the doctrine of the Little Vehicle, that is, the Little Vehicle of the "gradual doctrine."<sup>128</sup> They allowed therefore the use of the three pure articles of food, and they followed this rule without fail. Now afterwards, when it was not time to seek for the three pure articles of food, there was a Bhikshu who was walking up and down; suddenly he saw a flock of wild geese flying over him in the air. Then he said in a jocose way, "To-day the congregation of priests has not food sufficient, Mahasattvas! now is your opportunity." No sooner had he finished, than a goose, stopping its flight, fell down before the priest and died. The Bhikshu having seen this, told it to the priests, who, hearing it, were

<sup>125</sup> That is, at it seems, he drew certain figures or letters on the stone, and asked Buddha to explain some difficulties he had as to the subject of these figures. These forty-two difficulties have no reference to the *Book of Forty-two Sections*.

<sup>126</sup> This translation appears to me the only justifiable one. Julien has, "Now there is a statue there which resembles the ancient image of the saint (*i.e.* of the Buddha)." But if the symbol *ts'z* (this) be taken for the adverb "here," the natural translation would be: "Now there are here figures in imitation of these ancient sacred symbols or marks." The only doubt is whether *ts'z* *siang*, "these marks or figures," or "the figures here," be not an error for "*Fo-siang*," "the figure of Buddha," which occurs a little farther on.

<sup>127</sup> Keng-so-kia-lan, in Chinese Keng-sha. The lower peak on the east is crowned with a solid tower of brickwork, well known as Jarasandha-ka-baithak, or "Jarasandha's throne." This tower, the ruins of which still exist, is probably the *stupa* alluded to in the text (comp. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey*, i. 19). But I am at a loss how to explain General Cunningham's remark (*Arch. Survey*, iii, 141), that "close to the hot-springs on the north-east slope of the Baibhar hill there is a massive foundation of a stone house 83 feet square, called Jarasandha-ka-baithak, or "Jarasandha's throne." This is explained, however, in Fergusson and Burgess' *Cave Temples of India*, by the statement that there are two sites so named.

<sup>128</sup> The advanced doctrine of the Little Vehicle (Hinayana); compare Julien's note, tome i, p. 3.

affected with pity, and said one to the other, "Tathagata framed his law as a guide and encouragement (*suitable to*) the powers (*springs*) of each person; <sup>129</sup> now we, following 'the gradual doctrine,' are using a foolish guide. The Great Vehicle is the true doctrine. We ought to change our former practices, and follow more closely the sacred directions. This goose falling down is, in truth, a true lesson for us, and we ought to make known its virtue by handing down the story to other ages, the most distant." On his they built a *stupa* to hand down to future ages the action they had witnessed, and they buried the dead goose beneath it.

Going 150 or 160 li to the north-east of the Indrasila-guha mountain, we come to the Kapotika (*pigeon*) convent. <sup>130</sup> There are about 200 priests, who study the principles of the Sarvastavada school of Buddhism.

To the east is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. Formerly Buddha residing in this place, declared the law for one night to the great congregation. At this time there was a bird-catcher who was laying his snares for the feathered tribe in this wood. Having caught nothing for a whole day, he spoke thus, "My bad luck to-day is owing to a trick somewhere." Therefore he came to the place where Buddha was, and said in a high voice, "Your speaking the law to-day, O Tathagata, has caused me to catch nothing in all my nets. My wife and my children at home are hungry; what expedient shall I try to help them?" Then Tathagata replied, "If you will light a fire, I will give you something to eat."

Then Tathagata made to appear a large dove, which fell in the fire and died. Then the bird-catcher taking it, carried it to his wife and children, and they ate it together. Then he went back to the place where Buddha was, on which, by the use of expedients, he framed his discourse so as to convert the bird-catcher. Having heard this discourse, he repented of his fault and was renewed in heart. Then he left his home, and practising wisdom, reached the holy fruit, and because of this the *sangharama* was called Kapotika.

To the south of this 2 or 3 li we come to a solitary hill, <sup>131</sup> which is of great height, and covered with forests and jungle. Celebrated flowers and pure fountains of water cover its sides and

<sup>129</sup> *I.e.*, Buddha's law was intended to be adapted to circumstances.

<sup>130</sup> This Kapotika (*pigeon*) convent is identified by General Cunningham with the village of Parbati, just 10 miles to the north-east of Giriye. This would require us to change the 150 or 160 li of Hsuen Tsiang into 50 or 60.

<sup>131</sup> This solitary hill is supposed to be "the hill standing by itself," named by Fa-hian (Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. xv. p. 7). Dr. Fergusson, on the other hand, identifies the hill of Behar with that site (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 229), and this hill with the Shekhpura range (*ibid.*, p. 232).

flow through its hollows. On this hill are many *viharas* and religious shrines, sculptured with the highest art. In the exact middle of the *vihara* is a figure of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bodhisattva. Although it is of small size, yet its spiritual appearance is of an affecting character. In its hand it holds a lotus flower; on its head is a figure of Buddha.

There are always a number of persons here who abstain from food desiring to obtain a view of the Bodhisattva. For seven days, and fourteen days, and even for a whole month (*do they fast*). Those who are properly affected see this Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bodhisattva with its beautiful<sup>132</sup> marks, and thoroughly adorned with all its majesty and glory. It comes forth from the middle of the statue, and addresses kind words to these men.

In old days the king of the Simhala country, in the early morning reflecting his face in a mirror, was not able to see himself, but he saw in the middle of a Tala wood, on the top of a little mountain in the Magdha country of Jambudvipa, a figure of this Bodhisattva. The king, deeply affected at the benevolent appearance of the figure, diligently searched after it. Having come to this mountain,<sup>133</sup> he found in fact a figure resembling the one he had seen. On this he built a *vihara* and offered to it religious gifts. After this the king still recollecting the fame of the circumstance, according to his example, built *viharas* and spiritual shrines. Flowers and incense with the sound of music are constantly offered here.

Going south-east from this shrine on the solitary mountain about 40 li, we come to a convent with about fifty priests,<sup>134</sup> who study the teaching of the Little Vehicle. Before the *sangharama* is a great stupa, where many miracles are displayed. Here Buddha in former days preached for Brahma-deva's sake and others during seven days. By the side of it are traces where the three Buddhas of the past age sat and walked. To the north-east of the *sangharama* about 70 li, on the south side of the

<sup>132</sup> One form of the worship of Kwan-yin will probably be found to have been derived from the Persian Anaitis or Anahita; the descriptions given of each are too similar to be attributed to accident. Especially on this point of "beauty" compare *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxiii. p. 82; also Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of Jan and Chin. Books lately added to the Bodleian*, col. 7, to show that Kwan-yin is identified with "pure water." Note also Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 262, "Kwan-yin from beyond the sea." The description of Anahita's dress in the *Aban Yasht* (*S.B.E.*, vol. xxiii), §§ 126-131, corresponds with the representations in the *Liturgy of Kwan-yin*. The subject is too copious for a note.

<sup>133</sup> The worship of Kwan-yin as a mountain deity has been alluded to in the *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. xv. pp. 333 f. I would remark here that it seems the worship of this deity was partly connected with Ceylon. The argument of the paper in the *J.R.A.S.* is to the same purport.

<sup>134</sup> General Cunningham suggests the substitution of *four* li for *forty*. In that case the place indicated would be Apsar (see *Arch. Survey*, vol. xv. p. 10).



Ganges river, we come to a large village, thickly populated.<sup>135</sup> There are many Deva temples here, all of them admirably aborned.

Not far to the south-east is a great *stupa*. Here Buddha for a night preached the law. Going east from this we enter the desert mountains; and going 100 li or so, we come to the convent of the village of Lo-in-ni-lo.<sup>136</sup>

Before this is a great *stupa* which was built by Asoka-raja. Here Buddha formerly preached the law for three months. To the north of this 2 or 3 li is a large tank about 30 li round. During the four seasons of the year a louts of each of the four colours opens its petals.

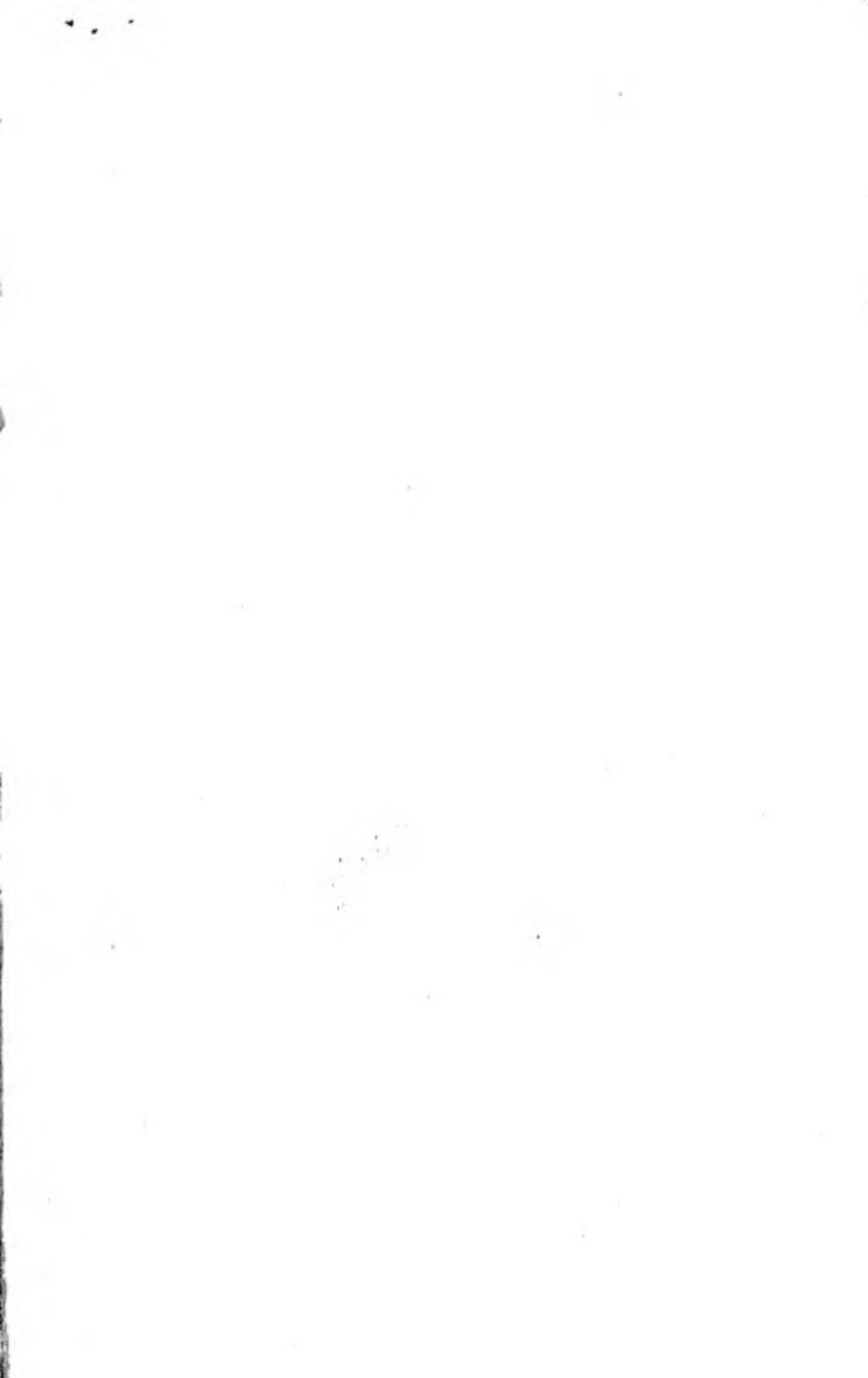
Going east we enter a great forest wild, and after 200 li or so we come to the contry of I-lan-na-po-fa-to (Hiranyapurvata).

# END OF BOOK IX



<sup>135</sup> Both distance and direction point to the vicinity of Shekhptrā (*op. cit.* p. 13).

<sup>136</sup> Identified by Cunningham with Rajjana. In Gladwin's *Avin-Akbari* it is found under the form "Rowbenny," which closely resembles the Chinese. Julien proposes Rohinila doubtfully. See also Fergusson (*op. cit.*), p. 233.



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